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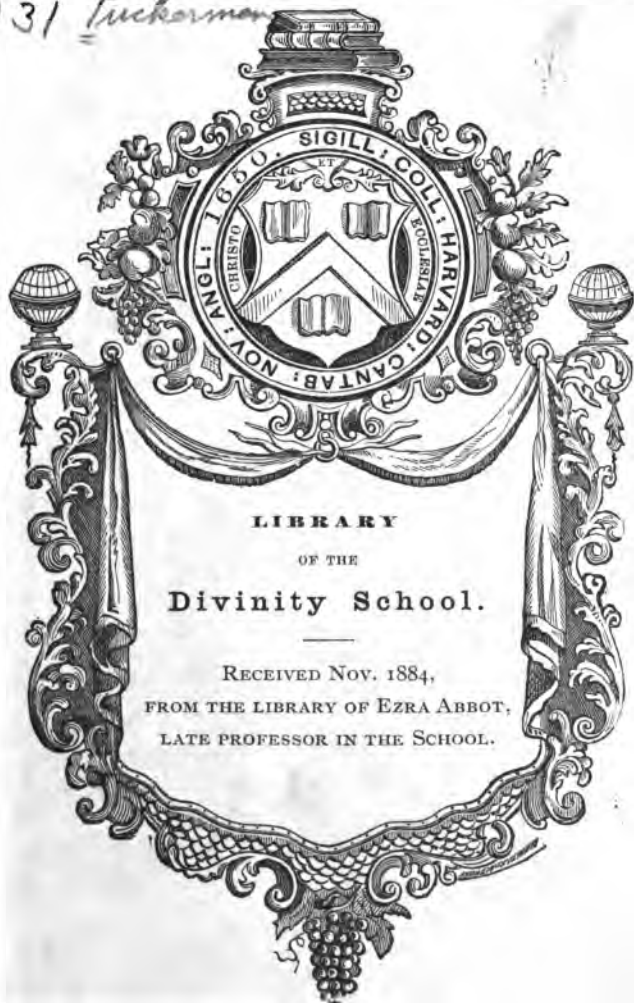
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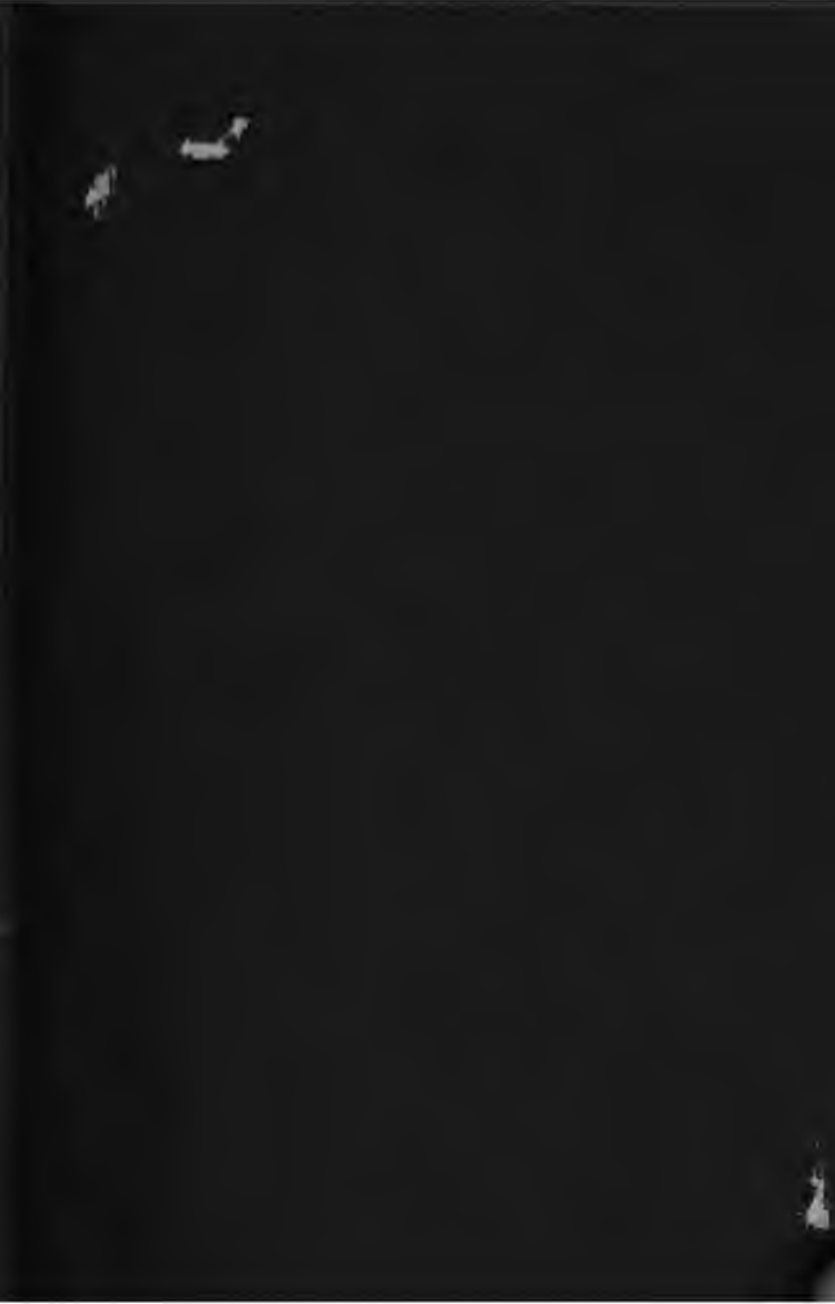
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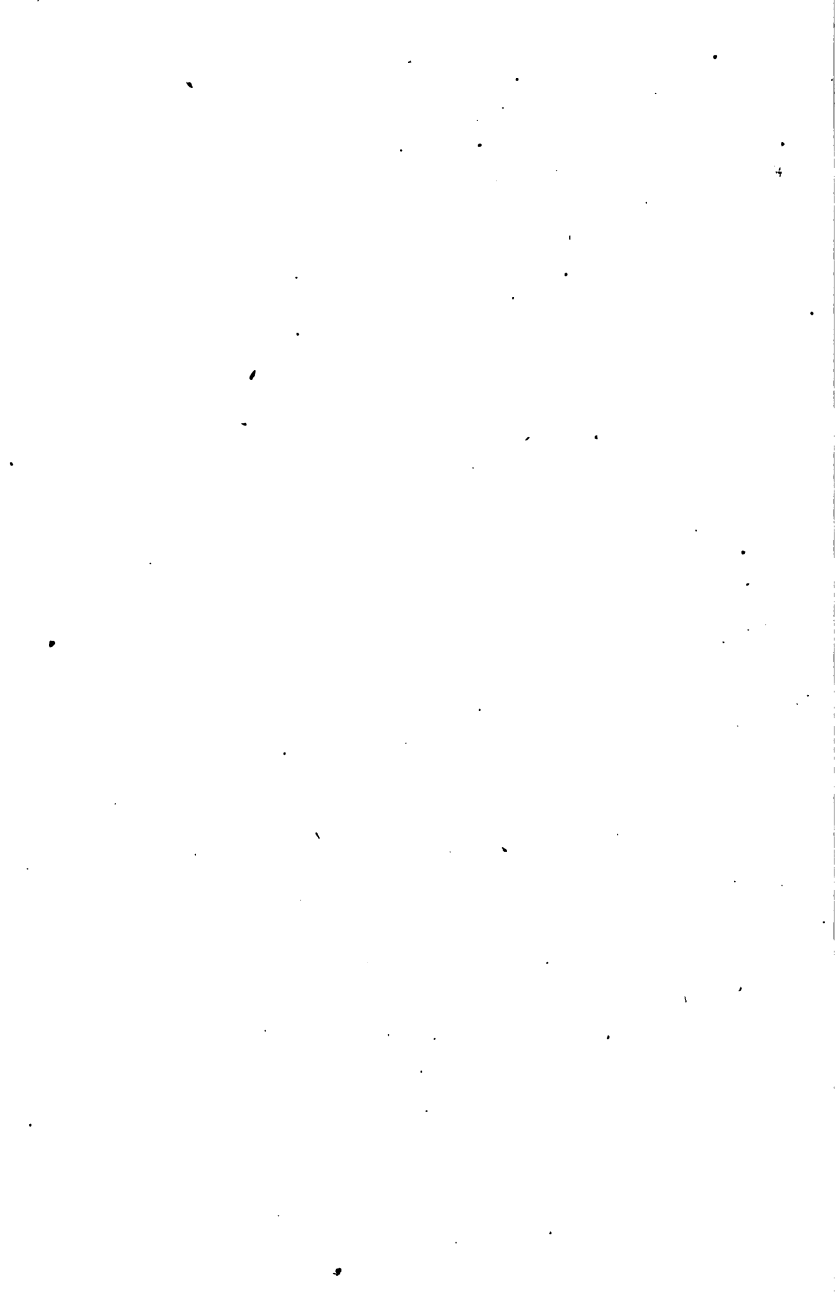


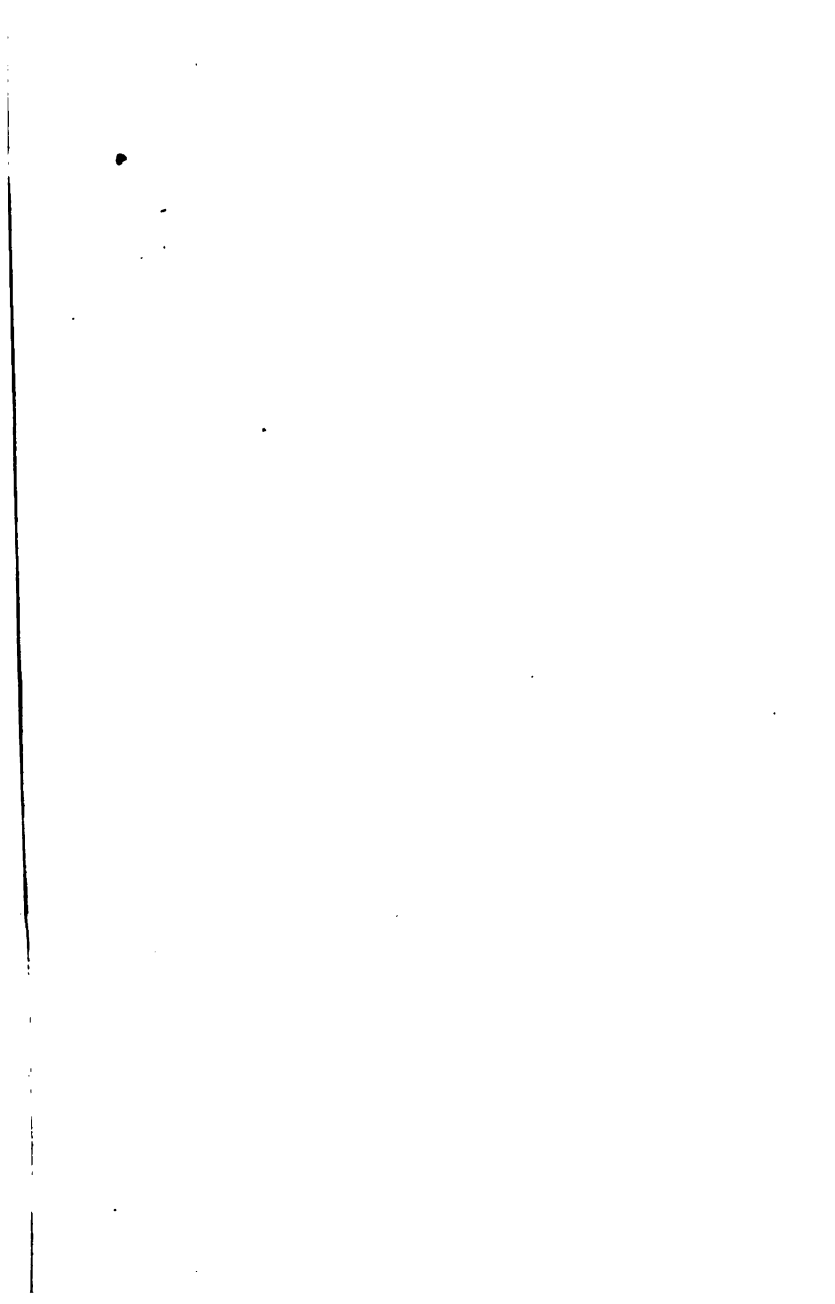
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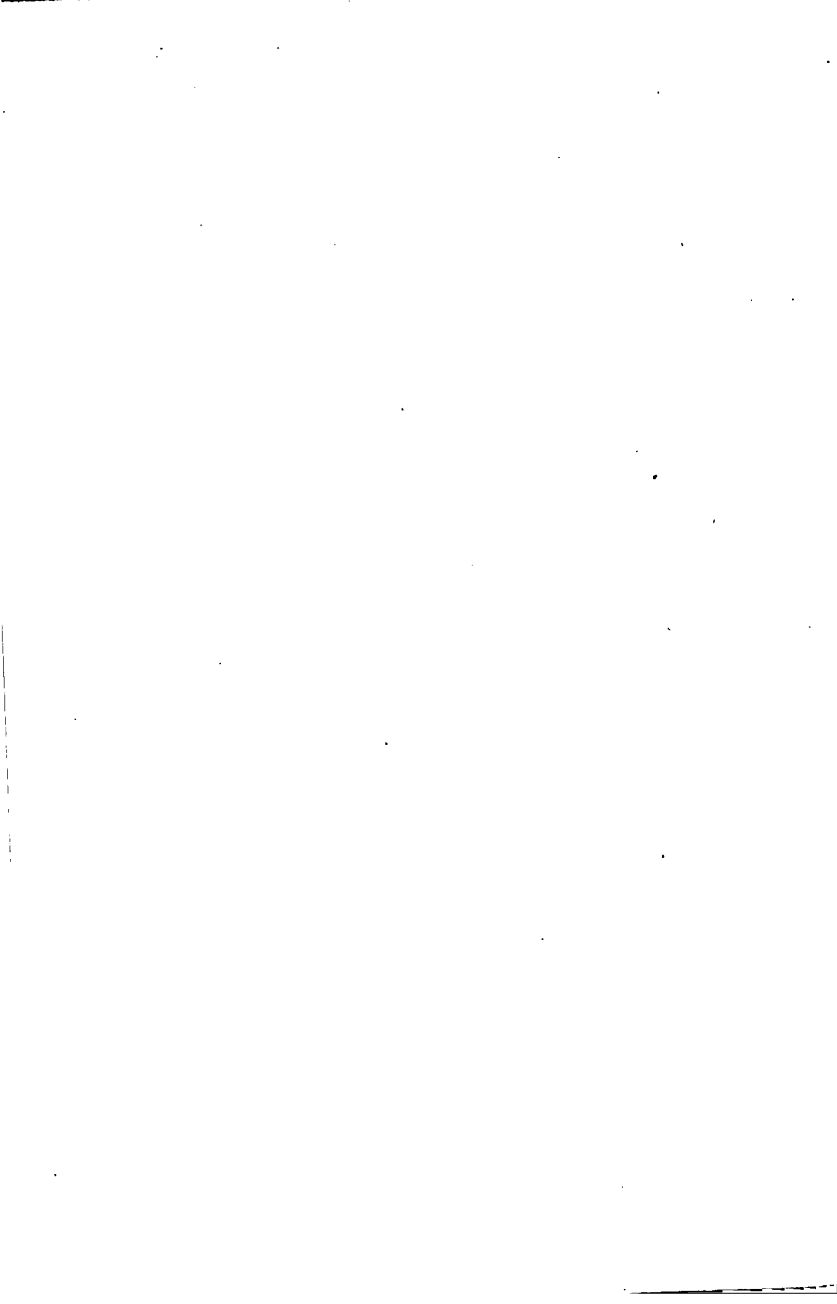
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JOSEPH TUCKERMAN

ON THE

ELEVATION OF THE POOR.

JOSEPH TUCKERMAN
ON THE
ELEVATION OF THE POOR.

(A SELECTION FROM HIS REPORTS AS MINISTER AT
LARGE IN BOSTON.

With an Introduction

By E. E. HALE.)

"Joseph Tuckerman knows the difference between pauperism and poverty"
BARON DEGERANDO.



BOSTON:
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INTRODUCTION.

JOSEPH TUCKERMAN has been, for a generation past, revered in Boston as one of its benefactors. To the system inaugurated by him it may fairly be said that Boston owes it that in every revulsion of business, or in any great calamity, her ordinary institutions of charitable relief have proved sufficient for whatever exigency. To those systems the city of Boston owes it that there does not exist in her borders any focus of misery and crime, — the dread of the authorities of government, and the shame of the ministers of religion. Poverty, crime, and pauperism there are in Boston, but for the most part they may be regarded not as chronic nor as endemic, but as, to a large extent, importations from without, or abnormal and exceptional. This happy condition may be fairly said to be in a large measure the result of the views which Dr. Tuckerman inculcated, and of plans which he suggested.

“He knew the difference between pauperism and poverty.”

This remark of Baron Degerando regarding Dr. Tuckerman would be a most honorable epitaph for him. It is because people who want to relieve occasional or “sporadic” poverty do not know how

to avoid making "paupers" of those with whom they deal, that alms-giving is, in general, so mischievous, and that the distributions of charity, so called, are in general so unsatisfactory. In Dr. Tuckerman's work, and in his reports of it, there is no lack of the most tender affection for the poor; but there is the most resolute determination, at the same time, to raise them and not to degrade them. And no plan of charity relief for one instant confuses or deceives him. However attractive or brilliant the present promise may be, if the man or woman relieved is injured by the "relief," he knows the Sodom's apple even in the glory of its beauty.

The thousand evils which certainly follow from reckless distribution of alms are so great that any man of sense or of prudence like Dr. Tuckerman's resolutely studies the methods of abating them. His duty is "to prevent pauperism," or the condition of chronic poverty. But a person as humane as he remembers all along that no theory of prevention must be so severe as to compel suffering for any child of God. As Dr. Bellows puts it admirably, "The man is greater than humanity." The reconciliation of our duty to the individual poor man on the one hand, and our duty to society on the other, in preventing pauperism, is the great merit of Dr. Tuckerman's work.

Dr. Tuckerman rendered this critical and essential service to his native city in several years of duty as a "minister at large." He was first appointed to this service on the 5th of November,

1826, under the direction of the Executive Committee of the American Unitarian Association. That Association had then but just been organized, and the appointment of Dr. Tuckerman was one of its first enterprises. The necessity for such an appointment had attracted the attention of the leading clergymen of the city, and it will be found alluded to in the memoirs of Dr. Channing and Dr. Henry Ware, Jr., as a matter which they had close at heart. For six years he maintained this ministry alone. In August, 1832, Mr. Charles F. Barnard was appointed as his assistant, and in October of the same year Mr. Frederic T. Gray took part in the same ministry.

Meanwhile, the extension of the operations of the Unitarian Association seemed to make it desirable that this ministry should be placed under the direction of an independent organization, and in the year 1834 the Benevolent Fraternity of Churches was formed for that purpose.

In the summer of 1833, after completing the valuable report which makes the last chapter in this volume, Dr. Tuckerman sailed for Europe in the hope of recovering his health, which was, at that time, very delicate. In Liverpool and in London the interest excited by him regarding the mission in which he had been engaged led to the formation in each city of a similar "ministry at large," maintained by the Unitarian churches. These organizations are still in efficient operation. After his return he published a little book on the

"Principles and Results of the Ministry at Large in Boston," which was published in 1838. His health continued to decline, and he died at Havana, in Cuba, April 20th, 1840, at the age of sixty-two.

It will be seen, therefore, that his most efficient work in the ministry which interested him so profoundly was rendered in the seven years following 1826. In this time he made regular reports of his duty, at first quarterly and afterwards semi-annually. These little pamphlets, which are full of practical suggestions, going even into the detail of the work of a "minister at large," are now very rare. Yet they refer to subjects quite as important now as they were then. And his discussion of those subjects has an especial value, because it was conducted under circumstances which were on the whole more favorable for a just and for a general view of the position than we enjoy now.

The enormous emigration of Irish and German emigrants had not then deranged every provision, which may be called normal, for the relief of the poor, and the size of the city was not so great but that one man could take a comprehensive view of it, and could suggest systems almost ideal, both in their range and in their simplicity, which might be immediately put into action.

It may be added that Dr. Tuckerman was surrounded and sustained by a very remarkable body of men, who were especially pledged to those theories of life which rest on the dignity and even the divinity of human nature, and which in mere con-

sistency must be tested in strenuous effort for the elevation of the poor. It is enough to name Dr. Channing, Dr. Henry Ware, Jr., Dr. Gannett, Dr. Pierpont, not to mention men who are still living, to show what was the attitude of the clergy who were interested in this movement. But the active energy of the movement was given to it by a body of laymen, of high position and character, who believed in the theology with which those men's names are identified, and were glad to have an opportunity to test it, though in the solution of the most difficult problems in an enterprise immediately under their own eye. Among many others who are no longer living, we may name George Ticknor, Jonathan Phillips, Patrick Tracy Jackson, Nathan Appleton, Amos and Abbot Lawrence, and Stephen Fairbanks, as men who believed in the dignity of human nature, and did not believe in the total innate depravity of man. Like the clergymen with whom they were united in various enterprises for the moral and social improvement of the city of Boston, they addressed themselves to the work in hand with a loyal confidence in the possibilities of the people for whom they were working. Such men set on foot, first, the ministry at large, of which the objects are sufficiently defined in this volume; second, the Society for Prevention of Pauperism, now known as the Industrial Aid Society, in direct response to appeals and suggestions made by Dr. Tuckerman, and, at a later period, following an admirable example given in New York, "The Boston

Provident Society." It would be safe to say that some effort in each of the three directions indicated by these three great organizations is necessary in every scientific plan of poor relief; that is to say, the central exertion must be to improve the *morale* of the people whom you would relieve; next, you must be prepared, at all corners and at all sides, to check the growth of chronic or endemic pauperism, which is a disease which may be met, abated, and prevented as certainly as small-pox can be; and thirdly, that it is only in proportion as you attend to these two necessities that you will take any satisfaction in your efforts for the relief of the poor.

On each of these subjects Dr. Tuckerman spoke in his successive reports with the advantage of illustration drawn from his personal experience. As has been said, however, these reports are now very rare; there are few complete sets of them to be found anywhere. As they meet, almost prophetically, the most dangerous delusions in the business of relieving the poor, it has seemed advisable to the Society for the Promotion of Christian Piety, Knowledge, and Virtue, to reprint such parts of them as have a permanent value. The officers of that society believe that the volume will become in some sort a handbook for those who have in charge any of the varied duties connected with the care of the poor in large cities.

There is no doubt that this care is often discouraging to the last degree. Many an enthusiastic

Christian man or woman, who has engaged personally in the work of charity with zeal and devotion, has stopped aghast at the end of a winter, with the horrid certainty that more hurt has been done than good to the people whom he meant or whom she meant to relieve. "I can ruin the best family in Boston by giving them a cord of wood in the wrong way." This was the verdict of one of the most experienced and most successful of Boston's almoners to the poor. Were it only as a guide to such persons, the study of Dr. Tuckerman's reports would render service of the first value.

Another class of people who do not do much in the way of charity, talk a great deal about it, sometimes in a sentimental way, sometimes in a flippant way. They recommend absurd charities in the first case; they say all charities create want and crime in the second. It is for the advantage of the whole community, that in the face of both these classes of chatterers, the scientific treatment of the subject by a man who had mastered it should be presented. It is to be hoped that the common-sense of a volume like this may at the least check a good many of the sentimental follies which are apt to appear at the beginning of every hard winter, and may save the mortification which is sure to follow such follies when such a winter comes to an end.

Having determined to reprint what I may call the permanent parts of these reports, the officers of the society requested Rev. E. H. Danforth, himself

a judicious and careful minister at large, to make the proper selections. He has fulfilled this duty with great care and success. We have not thought it advisable to reproduce the reports in their chronological order. He has grouped the different subjects in such a way that the several discussions illustrate each other ; and, as will be seen, in some cases a chapter of this book is made up from several different reports. It was, of course, impossible to avoid some repetition in a book made up from such materials. And we have not thought it necessary to strike out a passage in any instance because it repeated a statement made before. But it will be found at once that in Dr. Tuckerman's mind the whole subject was a science, and that in his several reports he considered himself as treating different parts of that science ; so that even in a collection of papers prepared in different years he never for a long discussion twice traverses the same ground.

The reader should be referred to his published work "On the Importance of the Ministry at Large." It treats at more length the subject which is discussed in the first chapter of this volume.

The ministry at large, which was begun by Dr. Tuckerman in Boston, and so fully illustrated by him in the reports which are here collected, is now carried on by ten ministers who are sustained in this work by a union of the Unitarian churches of Boston, known as "The Benevolent Fraternity." Most of the suggestions made by him for the im-

provement of the social condition of things as he found them have been met in one way or another. The truant officers, the Pawnors' Bank, the Industrial Aid Society, the union of the benevolent societies, are all so many efforts to meet necessities which he has described in these reports. The reader must in all cases remember the date of the report which he is reading.

It was, to a certain extent, in our power to have brought up to the present date the statistics by which the reports are illustrated: but to attempt this would have been only to interweave our own work with the author's, and to connect with his argument facts which he could not have known. We have been satisfied, therefore, in most instances, with such a rearrangement of his discussions as we have described.

For the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Piety, and Charity,

EDWARD E. HALE.



ELEVATION OF THE POOR.



CHAPTER I.

OF THE NEED FOR A MINISTRY TO THE POOR.

A CONSIDERABLE interest having been excited, both in England and in New York, in the cause of establishing a ministry at large for the poor of cities, I have had some communication with gentlemen in those places upon this subject. A very favorable impression, I find, has been made of the claims of this ministry ; and there is not only a readiness, but a strong disposition in many, at once to establish and to support it. The difficulty, however, I am told, which presses with the greatest force against this object, is that of obtaining fit instruments for the service. But this difficulty, I apprehend, is not in the fact that there are not suitable instruments enough at hand for the work. I can hardly believe, among the great numbers who are consecrating themselves to the Christian ministry, and, above all, if we look to the almost equal numbers who are now devoting themselves, with unexampled zeal and energy, to the various objects of Christian philanthropy, that many, and that more than are wanted cannot be found, who are suited to make this ministry one of the greatest of blessings which can be extended to cities. The difficulty,

I imagine, of finding fit instruments for it, arises from the want of distinct conceptions of its objects, and of the means of accomplishing them. In some important respects the service is a new one; and the experiment of its usefulness and claims has yet been but very partially made. Even those who have been the longest engaged in it, have much to learn of the duties and interests which are involved in it. We may, however, give the results of our observation and experience in the work; and these, perhaps, will furnish the best lights which can be obtained, respecting the qualifications of the instruments which are to be sought for it. Happy shall I be, if, by any exposition I can give of the objects of this ministry, and of the principles of operation which have been adopted in it, I may do any thing to induce those who are qualified to offer themselves for the service; and thus forward in any measure the benevolent designs of those who are waiting only for the agents whom they may commission and employ in it.

Allow me, however, before I enter upon this topic, to express my ardent desire that the friends of this ministry will do what they can, in its first establishment, to secure its permanency, by appointing those alone to it who will be disposed to devote to it their hearts and *their lives*. I should be deeply sorry to see this office made a mere stepping-stone to the ministry in our churches; and, certainly, not less sorry to see men called to it, who, having shown their incapacity in every other department of useful exertion, have therefore been thought to be at least qualified to act as ministers of the poor. The truth is, that if this ministry shall be committed to incompetent, however zealous

agents, it may be an instrument for the increase, rather than the prevention of the evils it is intended to stay and to correct; and it will very soon be followed, first by the distrust, and then by the discouragement, even of those who were the most earnest of its supporters. Here, indeed, is not only scope, but demand, as well for the energies of intellect and of judgment, as for the zeal of affection and of benevolence; nor do I believe that there is any better school for the cultivation of the intellectual and moral nature than is to be found in this service.

I have been accustomed to speak of this office as *a ministry at large* for the poor of cities. This has not arisen from any general objection to the term *missionary*, as applied to the service. No one has a higher respect than I have for the office of a Christian missionary. When I first entered upon the service in which I am now engaged, I felt a happiness to which no language can give expression, in the thought, "I am now a missionary to the poor." But after I had passed a year in this work, and had learned something of the extent of the field in which I was laboring; of the condition, and the character, and wants, intellectual and moral, of the subjects of this ministry; of the variety of the objects constantly demanding attention, and the diversified modes of operation that are required in it; and, above all, when I perceived that little comparatively could be done that was effectual of much good, till the minister was trained for the service by discipline and experience, and till he had obtained also the decided respect and confidence, and even affection, of those with whom he should become connected in this office; I then felt the importance of making this *a per-*

manent ministry. In my first semi-annual report of the second year of my service, I therefore proposed this permanent ministry, and called it "A ministry at large for the poor of cities." I have no strong predilection for this mode of designating the office. But I am greatly desirous of seeing — or if this may not be, that others should see — a new class of ministers arising for this service, who will consecrate themselves wholly to it. The continuance of a minister in this office, and in the place where he shall exercise it, is, I think, of far more importance than in that of our churches. Nay, more, I venture to say that a minister will not only be able to do thrice the good in the fifth year in which he shall labor in this field, which he could do in the first; but that, at the close of each successive year in it, if he shall possess the true spirit of his ministry, he will find his soul bound to it by stronger ties, — by ties, the disruption of which would be among the most painful of the trials he could be called to bear. Let it then be called, if so it shall be preferred to call it, a missionary service. But I beseech its patrons and supporters to seek for it men who will give to it all their faculties and all their days. And I equally beseech those who may be disposed to engage in this good work, to enter upon it with the sentiment, if they shall find themselves suited for it, that for this work they will live, and in this work they will die. If such a ministry can be obtained, — and it should be demanded till it is obtained, — and made commensurate with that part of the population of cities which is not under the pastoral charge of the ministers of their churches, not only will much thus be done to supersede the necessity of the cumbrous police which is now thought to be essential

to large cities, but by this means, and by this means only, can the divinely benevolent design of our Lord, in regard to this part of the population of cities, be accomplished, that they shall be blessed, or made happy, here and hereafter, through his gospel.

I come then to the question, The objects of this ministry, and the principles of operation in it, what are they? By giving such an answer as I may to these questions, something may perhaps be done to aid any one who is interested in the subject to decide, either respecting himself or another, whether he have the qualifications that are required for it.

First, then, let us look at the objects of this ministry. What are they? What are their claims upon us? What are our responsibilities in regard to them?

I assume—and may I not?—that the gospel of Christ is to be preached to all who shall be willing to hear it; and to the poorest and most ignorant, as well as to the wisest and richest of men. How, then, I would ask, are the great body of the poor of cities to be blessed through the gospel, or the religion of Christ? By the ministry which is established in the churches of cities? As our religion is now administered in these churches, this cannot be. In these churches, or religious societies, there are often more than two hundred, and sometimes more than three hundred, families which demand the personal attentions of their ministers. They demand also not only careful and laborious preparations for the public instructions of Sunday, but other occasional, and, it may be, frequently recurring, services, which require the retirement and study of the minister who would wisely and profitably discharge them. And yet, while no large city in Christendom has ever com-

prehended in its religious societies more than three-fourths of its inhabitants; and while, in many cities, even a much larger proportion of their inhabitants has for ages been unconnected with any of their churches or religious societies, the guilt of leaving this large number uncared for, with respect to their spiritual condition, their moral exposures, and the objects of the gospel concerning them, seems hardly to have occurred to the mind of the most zealous and philanthropic believers of the religion of Christ. Because each religious society has some who are poor among its members, and because we have been accustomed to the spectacle of well-filled churches, and of quiet streets on Sundays, it has therefore been inferred that all is well in regard to the means for the religious instruction of all. But it is now known that even in our favored city—and the sun shines not on one containing an equal number of inhabitants in which better provision is made for religious as well as for other instruction—there are thousands who were under no pastoral care, and were in the way of no direct religious influences, till a special ministry was instituted for them. It is, then, for such as these, wherever they are to be found, that I would plead for a new and a distinct ministry. It is for those who, from the want of suitable attire, or from the frequency of their removals from one part of a city to another; or from the charge of young children whom they cannot leave; or from the pride which revolts from appearing in a free seat; or from insensibility and indifference to all the interests and claims of religion; or from vice and recklessness; or from feebleness, or sickness, or old age, are seldom, and perhaps never, to be seen in our churches. And is not Christian instruction as impor-

tant for these classes of our fellow-beings, as it is for those who form our religious societies? And will it not, to a very great extent at least, if it can be wisely and affectionately administered to them, bring to them an inestimable blessing?

But I must speak more definitely of the specific objects of this ministry. I would say, then, that they may be divided into three classes. In the first class I would place the pastoral charge, and the religious instruction of the poor. These are its highest objects. In the second class I would comprehend all those offices of Christian sympathy and kindness which are called for by the various necessities and sufferings of the poor. These are, indeed, offices which any Christian friend might perform for them; for which the poor need a friend, and often know not where to look for one; and by performing which, the minister may not only communicate very great immediate relief and happiness, but incidentally be an instrument for the prevention of much evil, and even of advancing the highest objects of his office. And in the third class I would place the services which the minister may perform by the communications he may make respecting poverty and the poor to the more favored classes; by the influences he may exert in calling forth kindly and Christian sentiments in these classes towards each other; and by the aid he may give in the various measures, both private and public, which may be taken either for the remedy or the prevention of pauperism and crime. Let me say a few words respecting each of these departments of the service to which I wish to call public attention, and in which I am greatly desirous to engage a strong and an extended interest.

The objects of this ministry which belong to the first class are, in truth, no other than those which our Lord announced as objects of his own ministry, when he applied to himself the language in which Isaiah had spoken of the long promised Messiah, "The spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach glad tidings to the poor." A minister at large is to seek out, and to connect himself in this office with, as many as he can of the families of the poor who belong to no religious society, and are regularly visited by no minister. In these families he is to be a religious teacher, a Christian pastor. These families are to constitute his flock, his charge. By this ministry, therefore, the whole body of the poor are to be made, as they cannot otherwise be made, the objects of a Christian interest. They are to be instructed in the principles of the Christian faith, of a Christian life, and of the Christian salvation. Jesus Christ is to be made known to them in his character, his offices, his life, and his death. His precepts, his promises, his warnings, his consolations, in all their comprehensiveness and simplicity, are to be brought distinctly before the minds and addressed to the hearts of the poorest, and even the most degraded and despised of our fellow-beings. If, then, it has been clearly proved that it is practicable, by this ministry, to extend this Christian instruction and care to multitudes, who otherwise would not receive them; if parents and children, who would otherwise be living in heathenish darkness, may be brought to open their minds to religious knowledge, and to put forth their efforts for a religious character; and if these objects are not to be attained but by the institution and maintenance of a ministry distinct from that

of the religious congregations of a city, is it not a solemn duty of those who are dedicating themselves to the office of the Christian ministry to look to this among the other fields of labor which the gospel is opening before them? And then, too, are not the obligations of maintaining this ministry as unequivocal, and as imperative, as are those of supporting the ministry in our churches?

Direct religious instruction, however, forms but one, though without doubt the most important, department of this service. Objects of the second class are daily, and almost hourly, forcing themselves upon our attention, and soliciting our care. The condition of the class of the poor which falls under the charge of a minister at large is one which calls for almost every possible form and exercise of Christian benevolence. I do not mean only, or principally, that they are experiencing almost every possible kind of physical want. Yet these wants must not, and by a mind which has any of the benevolence of the gospel cannot, be disregarded; for how can we hope to make religious impressions, or to exert religious influences upon the soul, while the half-clad, shivering, starving body asks for fuel, or for food, or for a garment, as the greatest of blessings? But, even to meet these pressing necessities wisely and effectually, we must look beyond them. Many of the poor suffer greatly — or if, through the power of habit, they do not suffer as we should in the same circumstances, they are yet miserably destitute — from ignorance, or a disregard of the means of comfort which are within their reach. Some have abundant capacities for self-support, but are altogether indisposed to labor; and others are daily expending, for their intemperate and debasing appetites,

the earnings by which they might feed and clothe their families. Some are inefficient, and need to be excited. They may even need the assistance of a friend to obtain employment for them. And with regard to others, there is no more important service which can be rendered at once for their immediate comfort, and the preparation of their minds for religious instruction and for religious exercises, than sympathy and aid in the charge of their children. These children, if left in the sole charge of their parents, will neither receive instruction in a school nor discipline at home. They will grow up in ignorance, lawlessness, vagrancy, and crime. Sometimes it may be the kindest and most important office that can be performed for a family to obtain its removal to another neighborhood; for their peculiar dangers and sufferings may arise from the neighborhood in which they live. And sometimes, by other judicious counsel in a time of perplexity and embarrassment, or by the supply of some want which is very painfully felt in sickness, we may rescue from dangers of a very threatening character, and obtain a strong hold upon the mind for higher and better objects. There is, indeed, no service so small, and no office so humble, that it does not properly come within the official duties of a minister at large. He will more gladly bow himself to wash the feet of the chief of sinners than of the greatest of saints, if he can thus win the sinner's heart. He is to be emphatically, and in all things, the poor man's friend as well as minister; and to acquaint himself not only with the mind and heart of the poor, but with all the circumstances which are exerting an influence on their hearts and characters. These circumstances may be, and often are, wholly beyond the control of the individuals who suffer from

them, and may yet be within the power of one who is disposed to act as their benefactor and friend. These circumstances have therefore very strong claims upon the regard of a minister of the poor; and if they should be overlooked by him, or thought unworthy of attention, I should not be very sanguine in my expectations of good from all the other services which he could render.

To the third class of the duties of a minister at large belong all those offices ~~in which~~ he may engage as a medium of communication and of connection between the classes of society. He goes to the poor, and to the poorest, primarily indeed as a minister of Christ, and for the purpose of preaching to them "the unsearchable riches of Christ." But he goes to them from among those who are not poor. Nor is it understood merely that he is, and, unless he shall have sufficient property, that he must be, supported in his office by the rich. It is known, too, that as far as he is enabled to relieve the poor under the pressing wants of their poverty, it is through the sympathy of the rich, who have made him their almoner. He has, therefore, daily opportunities — and if he be wise he will not fail to improve them — of calling forth the kindly affections of the poor towards the rich; giving to them Christian views of the connection which God has instituted between all human interests and human duties; and of inculcating the principles which will secure fidelity in duty, even in the poorest and lowest of all the employments of life. And he has frequent opportunities in his daily intercourse, and occasional ones in the reports which he may make of his services, of giving to the rich a knowledge of poverty and of the poor, which is not otherwise to be

obtained. It is, however, and it must not be forgotten that it is, a very partial trial which has yet been made of this ministry. It has indeed conducted, and it is conducting, to very great good. But I not only feel deeply that we have much to learn of the best modes of operation in it, in view of the first two classes which I have named of its duties, but equally of those of the third class. Let this ministry be continued, and be wisely appointed, and wisely conducted, and it will do more, I believe, than can be done by any other agency, for making the rich and the poor advantageously known to each other; and, through the knowledge and feeling which it may extend of their intimate relation to each other as God's children, and of the inseparable connection which exists between all their various interests, for the excitement and maintenance of a mutual Christian sympathy and feeling of brotherhood between them. I have often, indeed, felt a strong doubt whether this ministry, if it shall be committed to fit instruments, and maintained at once on the part of those who engage in it, and of those who support it, with a spirit worthy of its importance and its claims, would not in every view of it be as great a blessing to the rich as to the poor. It may do more than any legislation can accomplish for checking the progress of pauperism and crime. It may bind the employed to the employer by stronger ties than any pecuniary compensation could form. And in various ways, which will readily occur to any one who will reflect upon the subject, it may be made one at least of the strongest bonds of moral connection which can be formed between the great classes of the rich and the poor. And on what other, I ask, than moral bonds, is any reliance to be placed in the great exigencies of

human society? Above all, under a government like ours, what may not be feared from an extent of pauperism, like that which exists in the old world? What may not be feared from a division and hostility among us of the classes of society, analogous to that which the pride and extravagance and licentiousness of wealth, not less than of titles and rank, have produced there? And where, or in what, is our security against these evils, but in a prevalence among all classes of the principles and spirit of the gospel of Christ?

I could not satisfy myself with saying less of the objects of this ministry. But I feel no small diffidence in coming to the question of the modes of action in it. I have my own modes of action in this service, and others have theirs; and I devoutly hope that others will still arise, and come after us, who will better comprehend its interests, and more skilfully teach, as well as discharge its duties, than can even the most zealous, intelligent, and devoted of those who are now engaged in it. But as there are few favors for which I am more grateful than for any hint which will aid me in seeking the improvement and happiness of those with whom I am, or may be, connected in this work, I hope that I shall not be thought to have exposed myself to the imputation of arrogance, if I shall give some of the results of my own observations in it. There is, indeed, no topic of this subject, on which so much is yet to be learned, or I may even say to be discovered, as on this. Nor is this a circumstance to excite any surprise. For why is it that in all the other departments of the administration of our religion so little, compared with what might have been expected, is accomplished, but that so much is yet to be learned in them all, of the most effect-

ual methods of bringing divine truth to its just and proper bearings on the human mind? Why is the most solicitous domestic instruction, and why is the most vigilant parental care, so often unavailing? And why, also, are our pulpits, the pastoral visits of our clergy, our schools, and our books of Christian piety and morals, exerting no more salutary and life-giving influences, but that they are yet far short of what they should be, and of what a better knowledge of the true means of recommending religion, and of bringing it home to the human soul, would make them? I repeat, therefore, that I do not here assume the office of a teacher. On the contrary, I will gratefully sit at the feet of any one who can give me any new lesson of which I may avail myself in this service. There are, however, two or three general questions respecting modes of operation in it, upon which I am willing to offer an opinion. I refer to the inquiries, which have repeatedly been proposed to me, how may the greatest number of that part of the population of a large city, for which this ministry is intended, be most efficiently brought within the influence of its instruction and care? Is it desirable to have chapels or churches built for the poor? And should this ministry be made an instrument, through the poor who can be gathered by it into congregations, for forming new religious societies and new churches in our cities? I can do little more, in the space which I have, than simply to express an opinion on these subjects.

“How, then,” it may be asked, “may the greatest number of that part of the population of a large city, for which this ministry is intended, be most efficiently brought within the influence of its instruction and care? Should each minister, for this purpose, consider a whole

city as before him, in every part of which he is to seek out those whom he may connect with the religious denomination to which he belongs, or should he take a single district, within which he will confine his objects and his labors?" I do not hesitate to reply that, if it shall be the great design of a minister of the poor to collect the largest number who will profess themselves to be of his own denomination of Christians, he may very probably be most successful by rejecting all limits to the field of his ministry. But if he shall have the infinitely higher purpose to aid the largest number which he may in becoming practical Christians, he will mark out for himself bounds which will comprehend as many as he can faithfully serve as a Christian friend; and to each individual of these will endeavor to commend himself, not as an Episcopalian, a Presbyterian, or Congregationalist, or as Orthodox, or Unitarian, but simply as a follower and minister of Christ. I fear, indeed, for this ministry from nothing so much as from its exposure to the narrowness and bigotry of party spirit in its instruments. Surely we have seen enough of the influence of this spirit to admonish us, in any new enterprise for the advancement of the spirit of Christ, to shun and escape it as, in any other enterprise, we would be warned against the circumstances which have brought disappointment, and perhaps failure, to those who embarked in it. Here, in truth, is a call for men who acknowledge no master but Christ; who hold themselves amenable to no human authority for their judgments upon questions regarding religious doctrines; and who, making Christ their model, and Christ their teacher, go to their work "in Christ's stead to beseech men to be reconciled to God." Let such men, within as narrow a space as

they can, each find three hundred families, to whom, in every practicable way of usefulness, they will from day to day minister, and not only will they find within this circle sufficient employment for every hour which they can give to their work, but they will save much time, which must otherwise be wasted in passing over the long distances which will be between the objects of their charge, and they will show also the respect which is due to others who would devote themselves to the same ministry. Nor have I a doubt that a far greater good would thus be attained than could be by traversing a much larger field, and by doubling or tripling the number to whom the visits of a minister might be extended.

Again. It is asked, "Should we build churches or chapels for the poor?" I answer, that while I think this mode of operation to be secondary in its claims, and to promise little in comparison with a daily and hourly ministration from house to house, yet, as considerable numbers, even of the very poor, may be brought together on the evenings of Sunday for social worship and instruction, and a few may be collected for a service in the day, it is therefore well to have small and unexpensive chapels for these services. But if a commodious hall may be obtained, near the centre of the neighborhood of a large number of the poor, I should not advise the erection of a chapel. A very large proportion of the poor, it is to be remembered, frequently change their place of habitation, and the parts of the city to which they remove are often far apart from one another. It will often, therefore, be inconvenient, or impracticable, to continue their connection with a particular chapel or hall of worship. Many, too,

who will go, and be glad to go, to an evening service, cannot leave their homes during the day, either because they have young children who demand their care, or because they have not the attire in which they are willing to go abroad. I venture, indeed, to say that far less than half of those for whom this ministry is most important, can be gathered for any thing like a constant attendance upon the services of a mission-house or chapel. They are, therefore, to be ministered to at home. And as far as any can be induced and enabled regularly to give their attendance upon the religious services of a church on Sunday, it seems to me very desirable that they should be persuaded, as far as may be, to connect themselves with the existing congregations, or religious societies, in the city; while, if it shall be thought best, they may still be in the charge of the minister of the poor who has brought them into this connection. I would say, also, that not more than one public service in the daytime should be required of a minister at large on Sunday, because half of the day may be far more profitably appropriated to visiting those who cannot be brought together for public worship, and who are then to be found at home under circumstances the most favorable for religious and moral influence. He may, however, preach on other days in any room of those whom he visits; and he may have a regular Sunday evening service in his hall or chapel. But, I repeat, let the poor, as far as it can be done, be brought into the congregations of the rich, and there, as our Lord and Master intended that they should, let them worship together. There let them send up the mingled incense of united adoration and thanksgivings, of penitential acknowledgments and fervent supplica-

tions; and there let them open their hearts to a sense at once of their relation to each other, through their common relation to God, and of their great common interests, of their reciprocal duties, and of the common and infinitely glorious inheritance to which God is calling them. Many may thus be united with our churches, who otherwise would have lived and died unconnected with any of them. Still, however, after all that can be done to bring them into this connection, there will be many, to whom, if the gospel is to be preached, it must and can be only in the family circle; many, therefore, who will be without the pale of the Christian ministry, unless there shall be a ministry exclusively for them.

My reply to the third query, "Should this ministry be made an instrument for the formation of new religious societies?" is plainly to be inferred from what I have said in my reply to the second. If, indeed, a chapel, or a mission-house for the poor, shall become a centre in which those who can build and support a new house of worship shall be disposed to form themselves into a new religious society, and to unite themselves with the poor who are collected there, it is well. Let a new religious society then be formed there. But most earnestly should I deprecate any measures which should have for their end the establishment of congregations, or of religious societies, exclusively of the poor. It is a very important purpose of the ministry for which I plead, to bring the classes of society into a new and Christian union with each other; and it is greatly to be regretted that our religious societies are constituted as they now are, in respect to the accommodation of any but proprietors in their places of public worship. The

poor, who would gladly unite with them, but who cannot pay for the privilege, in the largest number of our places of worship have at best a very narrow space appropriated for them, and there they must sit apart, as "the class of the poor." This is a practice not less inconsistent with our political principles than it is with the spirit of Christianity. Under other governments, where distinctions of rank and of rights are universally recognized, the poor feel themselves to be, and revolt not at being treated, both politically and religiously, as *a caste*. But far otherwise is it under our institutions, for the preservation of which, religious as well as political, no means is more important than the excitement and maintenance of an interest in them, and an attachment to them, in the mass of the poorer departments of society. Let nothing, then, be done by this ministry, by which the poor shall be made to feel that the very religion which is intended to be a bond of union between them and their fellow-men is itself an instrument of their separation from the more favored classes of their fellow-beings. The attempt, by any means, to build up and to increase the number of religious societies, composed of those who, without bringing themselves into great pecuniary embarrassments, and taxing others to uphold them, cannot support a ministry, I deem alike impolitic and wrong; and if the ministry for the poor shall be employed for this object, I feel assured that by this single circumstance it will be not less exposed to fall into discredit, and to become an utter failure, than it will if it shall be engaged in only as a temporary service, and in preparation for the ministry of our churches.

Having given my judgment upon these questions, I

would state a few great principles of operation in the ministry which I have tested, and have found to be of increasing value in proportion as I have learned how to apply them. This, I think, will be a better service than I could render by any statements of my own modes of action in particular cases.

I observe, then, in the first place, that, either for personal happiness in this ministry, or for success in it, we must regard poverty and the poor as Jesus Christ regarded them. We must have a love of man, *as man*, like that which glowed in the heart of Jesus. We must recognize in every human being a child of our Father in heaven, and go to our work under the full influence of the sentiment of Christian brotherhood, with those whom it may be our privilege to serve as ministers of Christ.

This Christian interest in the poor, this affectionate care for them, and this solicitude for their highest improvement and well-being,— for their happiness through their piety and virtue, — is the first of all requisites, not only for making the proffered services of the minister acceptable, but even in any considerable degree useful. This is, in truth, no other than the principle of a true sympathy with Jesus Christ in the distinctive object of his religion, that through its influence the poor are to be blessed, that through his teaching, and the spirit of his gospel, even the poorest may be made rich by the acquisition of a treasure which is infinitely more precious than all outward good. This simple and divine principle in the soul of a minister of the poor will inspire the consciousness that he has himself obtained a better possession, when he has been an instrument of bringing a family, or an individual, under the influences

of the gospel of Christ, than if by any other operation he had even obtained for himself great riches. It will also be to him for light, where otherwise he would have found himself in the thickest darkness; and for encouragement, where, without it, he would have shrunk from the obstacles which will sometimes beset his path. It will even reveal to him the strength and the weaknesses, the virtues and the vices, of those to whom he shall minister. It will suggest to him new modes of action when old ones have failed him, and make him patient with the dull, tender and kind to the feeble and susceptible, as affectionate as he is persevering towards the apparently obdurate, and ever forbearing even towards the most violent opposer. It will gradually soften hearts, which at first appeared to be impenetrable, and call forth in them sentiments of regard and confidence and attachment; and it will make him feel that, in being permitted to minister to the moral recovery and the spiritual advancement of any, even the meanest of his brethren, who would otherwise have been overlooked and neglected, and left in ignorance and recklessness and sin, for whom yet Christ lived and died, he is one of the most privileged, and ought to be one of the most grateful and devoted, of the children of God in this world. I do not say that no one should make a trial of his capacities for this service till he shall feel the full extent of this religious interest in the poor, and the most exposed of his fellow-beings. But I think that if, after a fair trial of the work, he shall not find this sentiment to be daily growing in his heart, he may reasonably conclude that this is not the department of the ministry to which the providence of God has called him.

Again. I adduce it as an elementary principle of this ministry, that we should go to it with a true and strong spirit of sympathy with every one whom we may be called to address, or with whom we may have to expostulate *as a sinner*. The first principle to which I have adverted will keep us constantly mindful of the sentiment of our Lord, "I am among you as one that serveth." And the second, implying a constant recognition of the fact, "I, too, am a sinner," will dispose and prepare us, as we could not otherwise be prepared, gently, kindly, and affectionately to approach our offending brother. This second principle, therefore, in my estimation, is not of less importance than the first. Here we are brought into connection with those whose lives have passed under far different influences from our own. We have neither been exposed, as they have been, and were never perhaps inclined, to the vices and crimes into which they have fallen. But may not our own sins, in the sight of God, and under the circumstances in which we committed them, be as great as theirs? I plead for no false sensibility, on this subject; for no artificial and assumed feelings; for no self-accusations of sins of which we are innocent. But it is the truth, and a matter of simple truth, that we are ourselves the fellow-sinners even of the greatest transgressors. Let a conviction of this truth, then, be ever present to our minds when we are speaking to others of their sins. It is, indeed, hardly conceivable by those who have not made the experiment, how close is the intimacy which may be formed in this service of mind with mind; and what a free and willing access may be obtained in it even to minds which spurn the authority of law, and in mockery laugh at, or indignantly resent,

every other indication of an attempt to control them. But for this end we must identify ourselves with the transgressor, through that sympathy with which nothing short of a strong sense of our own sins can inspire us. Few are so dull that they cannot perceive, though they may not be able to explain, the actings of this principle in the soul of one who addresses them; and few consciences are so dead as to be wholly insensible to the motives and persuasions which it will suggest and urge to impress and win the heart of the sinner. Under its influence the minister of the poor can never be authoritative, harsh, severe, or reproachful in manners or in language; for even without speaking of himself, yet feeling this principle, he will but press upon the sinner his own deep-felt convictions, his own most dearly cherished interests, his own firm purposes, and his own ardent hopes. Every feeling, therefore, of his own sins, and every effort he shall make for the self-improvement to which the gospel calls him, is an increase of his qualifications for the ministry, in which he would be an instrument of bringing his brother sinner to repentance and to salvation.

Again. As it is a peculiarity of this ministry that its objects are to be sought rather through direct personal intercourse than by preaching, and, therefore, that it principally addresses itself immediately to the individual mind, the principle should never be lost sight of that a constant regard is here to be had to the distinctive circumstances, both personal and relative, of every individual to whom it is extended. Allow me then to say, that, in this service, the inquiries should constantly be present to our minds, "What are here the prevailing principles, dispositions, and tendencies?"

“What are the effects upon the individual of the employment in which he is engaged, and the company with which he associates?” “What are the influences at home which are conducing to good in him, and what to evil?” “What is there in his mind or heart which is to be cherished and strengthened, and by the culture and advancement of which the whole character may be improved; and what is the prejudice there, the passion, or the habit which it is most desirable and most important should immediately be corrected?” Some, even of those who are living most viciously, it will be found were religiously educated, and will not have forgotten the care with which they were reared, and the hopes which were indulged of them. This is a circumstance which may be of great importance to the objects of a religious teacher; for of those who have been recovered from gross vice I believe that nineteen out of twenty will be found to have received early religious instruction; and that their reformation, under God, is principally to be ascribed to the revived influence of this instruction. Some, also, have been reared from infancy in an atmosphere of sin, and have never received a strong impression of a religious principle, or had a strong sense of a religious obligation. Still, they may not be — and, in truth, they are not — wholly without natural conscience; and the skill of the teacher is to be exerted upon this conscience, in awakening its almost deadened capacities. Some were early accustomed to a condition of at least comparative prosperity, and others have never known any other than a life of poverty. Having then obtained as perfect a knowledge as he can of all within and without, which is

conducting to the virtue or vice of the individual, the teacher will understand something of the nature of the work which he will have to do; of the objects to which he is particularly to direct his attention and cares; and of the means he is to employ to attain these objects. And though, after all that he may thus have learned, his success may be far short of his hopes, he will yet, to the extent to which his influence shall be felt, and to which the individual shall be brought to co-operate with him, have the satisfaction to know that he is working for a radical and a permanent reformation.

I would state another principle which is constantly to be cherished and maintained in this ministry. I mean that we should be careful to carry into it a deep feeling of respect for the actual rights and capacities of the individual mind. I do not, indeed, suppose that this principle is of greater importance here than in any other department of the Christian ministry. But here, more easily, perhaps, than in the ministry of our churches, we may lose sight of it. What, indeed, it may be asked by some, are the rights which belong to a condition of ignorance and dependence and degradation and sin? and what is the respect which is due to him who has no respect for himself? I reply, that the capacities and rights of an immortal nature, of a being who must account for himself to God, and in whom the objects of the gospel of Christ can be accomplished only by his own free choice of truth and virtue and duty, have the highest claims to the respect of a religious teacher, even in the most wayward and debased of our fellow-men. For how is it, but through his capacities and rights of thought and understanding,

of judgment and affection, of choice and of will, that any one is or can be a subject of the moral government of God, and accountable to him? It is a new world of interests, and as distinct a course of action, into which we are brought in our intercourse with our fellow-beings, by Christian sentiments on this single subject respecting them. Our own use of these rights, and our improvement of these capacities, may, perhaps, have raised us, in our moral condition, above some poor, degraded fellow-beings, even more than we are raised above them by the circumstances of our outward condition. But, enfeebled as these powers may be in them, and perverted and corrupted, they are not wholly lost; for if they were, the individuals would not be proper subjects of the Christian ministry. A man may be regardless of his capacities and rights, and unconscious of their importance and worth, and of the responsibility which they bring upon him; and it may even be the high office of the minister into whose charge he may fall, to reveal this individual to himself. And what an exalted ministry is that, in which we are called to bring home to any soul a conception which it never had of the capacities with which God has endowed it; of the certainty which has been unfelt, of an immortal existence, and of the necessary connection of human happiness and misery with its freely formed habits and its chosen moral condition! And does God himself—I ask with reverence—act upon the human mind or heart, for its conversion or restoration, independently of the free exercise of those capacities by which he has constituted us moral and accountable agents? How, then, shall man be made an instrument of the salvation of his fallen brother if he respect not

in him those powers and rights which are the essential constituents of the soul that is to be redeemed? Is it still asked, how may we aid the poor, manacled, and fettered spirit to regain its freedom? How may we awaken in him a sense, and fasten upon him a conviction, of the greatness and excellence of the capacities which he has given over to sin? How shall we teach him and help him to feel that he has power, and that he must use it, to return to God, and that if he will seek, because he truly wants it, God will not withhold the assistance he needs to break his chains and to recover his liberty? I can only answer that, as far as human agency may be effectual in this work, he, I believe, will possess the best light, and will labor with the best success, who, under the guiding influence of the instructions and example of our Lord, shall always, and in every thing, most carefully maintain the respect which is due to these capacities and essential principles of human nature which our heavenly Father himself respects in all his dealings with man as a moral being. And he, I think, will most faithfully regard these capacities and principles of our common nature in others who is most strongly impressed with their importance and worth in himself, and with his own accountableness for the use which he shall make of them. If any one have not a consciousness in what consists the essential worth of the rights and powers of his own moral, accountable, and immortal nature, I know of no rules which aid him in awakening this consciousness in the soul of another.

It is another principle, which should never be forgotten in this ministry, that human nature — or, to speak more definitely, a fellow-sinner — is never to be given

up, as if he were either beyond the pale of God's mercy or of human hope and charity and labor. I give a prominence also to this principle, because in this ministry, far more than we should be in that of our churches, we are called to a frequent and intimate communication with obdurate and reckless offenders; and because here, therefore, unless we are strongly impressed with it, we shall not only find our own energies daily enfeebled by new discouragements, but we shall be disregarding one of the highest and most glorious of the objects of Christianity, and of the ministry it has instituted,—the salvation of *the lost*. Here it may be that from day to day we shall be brought into the society of the confirmedly intemperate, into whose very bones and marrow, and every thought and affection, the chains of the appetite which has enslaved them seem not only to have grown, but to have become identical with the very principle of their existence. But are they, therefore, to be overlooked, as no longer subjects of the moral government of God? Even if all expedients which have yet been tried shall have failed, are there no new expedients which Christian benevolence can devise for their recovery? Would he who came to seek and to save that which was lost pass them uncared for, while God continues to them any use of their reasoning powers, or while any principles of their moral nature are still living in their hearts? Here, too, we shall meet the equally perverted, who have reasoned themselves, as far as they could, out of all principle, and into a justification of every sin to which passion may prompt, or desperation may drive them. And here must be met those who have fallen into that deepest of the abysses of human iniquity, that foulest

and most corrupting of sins, that sin which extends the deepest and deadliest of moral poisons into the soul, and of all sins seems most completely to deprave and deaden every faculty of the moral nature,—I mean the sin of licentiousness; of profligacy. But, is even the profligate to be given up? I have seen the human soul, and have been called to minister to it, in some at least of the most painful varieties of debasement into which it is brought by violations of conscience and of God's will. And I have seen that, even where the moral nature seemed to be dead, utterly dead, it is very possible, by feeling long and patiently about the heart, that some pulsation may be found there to indicate, or even to prove, that the principle of moral life, and the capacity of moral feeling, are not, in truth, wholly extinct. While God, then, shall continue life, shall we not continue our efforts and our prayers, as the ministers of his mercy? Besides, even if, in regard to many, we must, to carry out the rule that human nature is never to be given up, hope against hope, and labor without making even the smallest apparent progress, still, if we shall persevere, some occasion may be given in the providence of God, in which a way will be opened for us that we thought not of; and in which a success to call forth our eternal gratitude and praise will follow our cares, our prayers, and our exertions. Would, indeed, that I had a warning voice by which I could carry home to every soul, especially of the young, a conviction of the extent and fearfulness of the desolations to which the human soul may be and is brought by abandonment to intemperance, to falsehood and dishonesty, or to a life of profligacy! I can hardly conceive of the degradation and the misery which I have

not witnessed, as the consequences and the wages of these sins. And I have seen many, very many, who, having resisted all reasonings and all persuasions, have gone into eternity, moral suicides, to stand before their Judge in the fulness of their unrepented sins. But I would still repeat, let human nature, let a fellow-sinner never be given up. Let a minister of Christ never be weary, and never discouraged with a transgressor, even though all the world beside should forsake, and give him up as hopeless. I have seen that there may be at least an apparently real restoration, even in a case apparently as desperate as any one to which the moral nature may be brought; and I have seen those recovered to temperance, and faithfully maintaining it, who were once broken down, the scourge and misery of their families, and were threatened with premature death by their habitual and lawless excesses. To God, then, let us look in every step of our way, seeking his guidance and aid; remembering our own dependence on mercy, and exercising the mercy which, could we imagine ourselves to be in the condition of our fallen brother, we could wish should then be extended to ourselves. This is plainly the rule of the gospel, and it should never be forgotten by a minister of the poor.

I might state other principles which have, I think, a peculiar bearing upon this ministry. But I forbear. I must, however, observe that I do not forget that here, at least as much as in any other department of the administration of our religion, we need the light and power which God only can communicate; the influences of his spirit; and that here, too, if any one is an instrument of good to a fellow-being, to God we are

to ascribe the success, and to him we are to render the glory. I know not, indeed, the sphere of human action in which human need of divine aid is more impressively taught than in the services of this ministry. Strangely constituted must be that mind which, amidst the spectacles that are here daily witnessed, at once of human weakness and exposure and want and suffering, and of the power of human propensities and habits, and amidst the embarrassments and trials which are here daily to be met, shall not often and strongly feel its personal insufficiency for the objects for the attainment of which the gospel yet calls for human interest, sympathy, and co-operation. But, blessed be God, this very gospel assures us, that he will not withhold his Holy Spirit from those who ask him for it. This is the first and the last, the beginning and the end, of the encouragements to this ministry; nor can I conceive that any one who should attempt this service, independently of this divine aid, would long obtain the remunerations of his work, which would induce him to continue in it.

But while I plead for a special ministry for the poor, I am fully aware that our religion knows of no substitute, and that its believers should not think of proposing any, for that extended and personal connection between the wise and the ignorant, the rich and the poor, the virtuous and the vicious, at which our Lord aims in the sentiment addressed to them without discrimination, *All ye are brethren*. No one, indeed, I think, who has watched the operations of this ministry, can doubt whether it has done much in our city to quicken and extend a sense of the relations into which Christianity would bring the classes of society with

each other. And let me here observe that something will also, I hope, be done in this cause by the publication of Degerando's "Visitor of the Poor." I commend this work to the readers of my Reports, in the belief that it is suited to do much to make the service to which it calls its readers profitable at once to those who may engage in it, and to those to whom this service may be extended.

CHAPTER II.

THE QUALIFICATIONS TO BE REQUIRED IN MINISTERS FOR THE POOR.

IN my last Report, I asked your attention to the objects of the service of a minister at large in the city; and I endeavored to show that the labors of at least four or five are required in any suitable manner to meet the moral wants of the poor among us. That Report, I have reason to believe, has been favorably received by those to whom you sent it. But the importance of this service is not yet felt as it should be; for if it were, the demand for laborers in it would not only have been clearly and strongly expressed by those by whom the office, if it is to be made permanent, is to be maintained, but it would have been repeated till the call was answered. It is not, and it cannot be, that men are not to be found who are most thoroughly qualified for this work. The truth on this subject is, that public sentiment among us is as yet far too low respecting the nature of the work, its true character, and the greatness of its obligations. A very general approbation is expressed of it, and a readiness by some to contribute to its permanent establishment. But the question is at the same time proposed, "What is the cheapest possible rate at which this office can be made permanent?" A consequence of this is a feeling that the office is as subordinate in its character as it is in its

prospects of remuneration to him who shall think of entering upon it. Here, I believe, lies the principal difficulty of obtaining the services of those in this field of labor, who shall be at once disposed to its duties, and most thoroughly fitted to perform them. Permit me to speak freely on this subject, for I ask no additional compensation for myself. But I am most solicitous that the service shall be begun in a manner which will secure its continuance as long as there shall be poor in our city to require it.

The office of a minister at large for the service of the poor is viewed by many as they have learned to view the office of a missionary to the heathen. All, it is thought, which is required in either is a deep piety, a benevolent heart, and an earnest desire to do good; qualities, indeed, which are of the first importance in men who are engaged in either of these employments, but by no means alone sufficient for the duties of either. I do not mean to imply that there have not been learned and sensible men who were qualified by their talents and attainments for any station in the church, who, with a spirit of self-sacrifice worthy of the best days of our religion, have gone out as missionaries; and, after having lived in the greatest denials and endurances, have died martyrs to the cause they have espoused. Each of the continents, and many of the great islands of our globe, contain the dust of many of these worthy followers of him who died for man. But they consecrated their lives as well to personal poverty, as to the work of *seeking* and saving them that were lost. Our talented and powerful men, it is thought, are wanted for the warfare that is to be maintained against error in the high places at home.

And in the city, above all places, the importance and dignity of employments and offices will be graduated, in the public estimation, by the compensation which they command. The proposition, therefore, to allow six, or even eight hundred dollars a year as the salary of a minister at large has been met, as it might have been anticipated that it would have been met, with the sentiment that this is the work of an inferior order of the clergy; and that a character and talents are required for it of a very subordinate class to those which are required for our pulpits, and for the more improved circles of our society. This, however, I think to be a great mistake. The office, in my view of it, inadequately as its duties are now performed, will give full scope for the energies of the best mind that can be obtained for it; and the good to be done in it, I am persuaded, is not to be exceeded in any other department of ministerial labor.

In the *first* place, allow me to say a few words respecting the character of the religious and moral instruction which is to be dispensed to the poor. What should this instruction be, and what is the character of the mind that is qualified to give it?

There is, indeed, among the poor, great ignorance of moral and religious subjects, and, in many, an obtuseness, and even an obduracy, which are greatly discouraging to a mind that is impatient for immediate success. And there are those who are not only indisposed to receive instruction, but who utterly reject it; whose improvement is yet to be sought, and may often be obtained. But are such as these to be found only among the poor? Or, is it thought that there are none others than such as these among the poor? I

have not found, indeed, among those of this class whom I visit the high order of intellect which exists in our religious congregations; but I have found those who are not only serious, but sensible and inquisitive. And I have found, too, sceptics and infidels who have thought themselves able to defend their doubts and their unbelief. There is often, also, much error—I mean practical error, and of a most dangerous character—in the minds of those who have been partially instructed, which requires at least some enlargement of mind and some acquaintance with human nature, as well as benevolence and zeal, for their correction. Looking, then, only at this part of the service, I would ask, how much less of ministerial talent, of ability to teach, of knowledge, judgment, moral power, and moral character, are required for this department of the duty of a minister at large, than in the service of a minister in one of our congregations? Nay, I would inquire of any minister of our congregations who is faithful to the poor of his flock,—solicitous to “feed them with knowledge and understanding,”—whether he often finds an opportunity for a better use of his attainments and his skill as a minister among the intelligent and the rich than is to be found among the poor of his charge? Others may not be affected by this view of the subject as I am. But let them become better acquainted with the poor, and set themselves seriously to the work of their Christian instruction, with a view to their largest possible comprehension of Christian principles, and their greatest attainable improvement as disciples of Christ, and I will then consent to abide by their decision.

I would not, however, have a minister at large to be separated from his brethren around him in the ministry.

I am not myself able to preach more than once on Sunday ; nor could I even perform my evening service if I were not assisted by the gentlemen who take a part in it with me. But I should be grateful to see this office taken into the charge of our religious congregations, and a minister at large ordained as an adjunct laborer with three or four other ministers, by whose societies he would be supported, and in whose pulpits he would preach successively half a day of every Sunday, his second service being in the evening, for the particular benefit of those of the poor who cannot attend public worship in the day. Let him have no other connection with these societies than that of an associate *preacher*, whose pastoral duties are to be wholly among those who would otherwise have no pastor ; and to these societies let him give his quarterly or semi-annual reports, which may be printed in whole or in part, or kept in manuscript for future use, as circumstances may require. This division of the expense required for the support of such a minister would make the burden to be light, very light, when compared with the magnitude of the benefits that would result from his ministry. This connection with ministers at large would give an important relief to the clergy of our congregations, who often suffer greatly, and even lose their health, from the demands that are made upon them. It would do much to keep alive, and wisely to direct, the sympathy of our religious societies in the wants and sufferings of the poor. And it would do more, I think, than could otherwise be done, to secure for the poor the services of pastors whose labors would be at once a blessing to them and to the city.

In the *second* place, if you will look at those depart-

ments of duty in this service, to one or more of which the attention of a minister at large may every day be called, which are not indeed wholly spiritual, but which are intimately connected with the best moral interests both of the individual and of society, I think it will be perceived that a Christian minister of very good gifts and acquisitions would not be wasting his mind in this employment of it.

The occasions are of very frequent occurrence in which advice and assistance—I do not here mean pecuniary assistance—are wanted by the poor in their secular affairs. This, it will be said, requires a man who knows the world, and who is connected with the world around him. And such I would have a minister at large to be. Not a man, indeed, who is engaged in trade or merchandise; but one who will know how to avail himself of the facilities which men in business can give him of obtaining employment for the poor, of extricating them from temporary difficulties, and of bringing them into the way of self-support. There are cases also of great vice and of great difficulty in which a minister at large, whose character and station will command respect, may sometimes exert an influence which is beyond the reach of the civil laws. He will become acquainted with many who have suffered the penalties of law, and he may save some from these penalties who would otherwise inevitably incur them. He will visit also in the families of those who are confined for crime, and of those whose crimes, although they have not brought them to prison, are exposing those around them to the greatest dangers, and actually bringing upon them the greatest wretchedness. And the vicious, let it be remembered, are not always the least acute or

discriminating; nor are they easily to be brought under the authority of minds in measuring which with their own they exult in a consciousness of superiority. And in the distribution of the alms that are entrusted to him, he will find, if he wishes not to do evil by the means that are committed to him for good, that the greatest watchfulness and the soundest judgment and discretion and firmness are constantly required. No man, except a dispensary physician, can know so well where alms should be given, and where they should not, as it can be known by a minister at large. Even he may for a time, though he will not very long, find his confidence abused. And not only will a great waste of money be prevented by committing the distribution of it to men who are qualified for the office, but a great amount also of vice; while suffering is most effectually relieved, and the cause of virtue and piety and happiness is, at the same time, greatly advanced. And in the charge which a minister at large should feel of all the children in the section of the city in which he is to labor who should be, but are not, in our schools, or who should be, but are not, in some useful employment; in bringing these children of the poor into Sunday schools, and in assisting unhappy parents in the discipline and care of their children, he will have frequent and great demands for the best practical wisdom, as well as for the best Christian dispositions. He will find parents and children of this class of a great diversity of character, and requiring thought and judgment and care and energy, in order to meet the exigencies of their various conditions. I am well aware that theological learning is not wanted for these services; and that they may be performed by one who would neither be a very able nor a

very popular preacher. But they do require, if they are to be well executed, a strong good sense, a knowledge of human nature, a discretion, and a decision of character, which can be trusted, and which will be *respected*. And if these qualifications for the ministry for which I plead can be found in one whose theological attainments and popularity as a preacher would make him a welcome occasional assistant to the ministers of our congregations, would not the tax for his support be cheerfully sustained?

Once more. Permit me to say, that I am very desirous of obtaining men for this service who will be able to add important contributions to the knowledge which is now possessed on the very dark and difficult subject of poverty, — its causes, its character, the most efficient means of its prevention, and the proper methods of relief, where relief is all that is to be sought, and is among the clearest and strongest of our duties.

Very much has been written, and by some of the ablest men of the last thirty years, upon poor-rates and poor-laws, and upon the causes and remedies of pauperism. But these have generally been treated merely as topics of political economy, and with reference to the existing and long-established institutions and the state of society in Great Britain and on the European continent. The poor have, therefore, too often been considered either as a caste in society, against the ignorance and depravity of which it is necessary to guard by legislative provisions, or as a dead weight, which must indeed be supported, but the primary consideration in regard to which is the cost, and even the immediate expense, to which it calls those

who must sustain it. The whole subject, therefore, in those countries, is encumbered with many difficulties which have hardly an existence among ourselves. Never, on the other hand, was there a state of society or of institutions in a city more favorable to the devising and to the execution of measures for the greatest practicable improvement of the character and condition of the poor than are those by which our highly favored city is now distinguished. Nor do I believe that there exists anywhere a better disposition to every work of Christian benevolence, if the object be but comprehended and approved, and its feasibility be clearly manifested. Consider, also, who they are who have written concerning poverty and the poor. Are they not, at least for the most part, men whose facts on these subjects have been obtained from the records alone of police courts, of prisons, and of alms-houses? How many have studied them in the only manner in which an enlarged and satisfactory knowledge can be obtained of them,—I mean, by a long-continued personal intercourse with all classes of the poor, and by acquainting themselves with all the various circumstances of their character and condition? I hesitate not to say that it is only by writers of this description that the public mind can be enlightened and wisely guided on these subjects. Far the largest number of the poor, and the class to be most essentially benefited, can be known only by visiting them at home. Some of them will suffer any thing rather than even ask for public charity; and a still greater number would not only die rather than go to a poor-house, but will certainly never come under the cognizance of any courts of justice. Poverty is, indeed, a subject which is perplexed by difficulties,

and I will even add, by moral difficulties, so great, and often so very embarrassing, even to those who have given their best attention to it, that it is by no means surprising that the number is not large of those who are disposed to follow the windings of the labyrinth till they shall find its termination. But how may we hope that a thorough comprehension of the subject may be so effectually obtained as by an able and faithful ministry at large, which will leave no family overlooked or forgotten,—of which it will be a specific object to employ all practicable means of saving as many as possible from pauperism, and from unnecessary dependence on others, and by which facts will be collected and published for the examination of those who shall be qualified to discuss and to decide respecting them?

I am well aware that the great objection which presses so strongly against almost every measure that has been proposed for improving the condition of the poor will be adduced also against the proposition of a permanent city ministry for the poor. It will be said that if this office be not directly, it may yet incidentally be a means of increasing and of perpetuating pauperism. It is feared that if too much shall be done for the poor among us our city will be, even more than it now is, a centre of attraction to this class of the population of the country, and even to the poor foreigners who are landed upon our shores. I wish only that this, and that every other objection which can be brought against this measure, may be calmly and fairly considered, and I am persuaded that of all the means that can be proposed for the prevention of pauperism, and for the greatest improvement of the character and condition of the poor, the ministry which

I would obtain, if due care is taken in the selection of it, will be the least liable to these objections. It is not to be forgotten in this connection that, in proportion as our city increases in its numbers, the number of the poor will be increased; and that, in proportion as the poor are corrupt among us, this very corruption will itself become at once an encouragement and a security to the vilest that shall seek shelter in the city. It will itself be a centre of attraction to the most unprincipled, who cannot long practise iniquity with a high hand in the country because the mass of the evil is not there great enough for their easy concealment and their safety. To secure, however, the proper influence of a ministry at large, I must repeat that the services will be required of not less than four Protestants in the office and of one from the Catholic church. Let these men be — not narrow-minded sectarians, but — men of enlarged and generous minds; and let them establish among themselves such principles as men of this character may establish, of union and of co-operation, and I believe that multitudes may be rescued from the gulf into which they must otherwise fall; an impulse may be given to the poor by which their best efforts for self-support will be secured; and relief will be administered, in a manner at once the most economical and effectual, to those who, if unrelieved, will either become a still heavier burden upon the charity of the community, or by their very wants be driven to crime. This office, indeed, like any other, may be abused. Let it fall into the hands of those who are not fitted for it, and it will become despicable or of the faithless, and it will increase the evil which it is intended to remedy; but appoint for it men who shall be qualified for all its

services, and then will the agents of our benevolent societies, as well as other benevolent individuals, know where to apply for the information by which they may be most effectually secured against the impositions to which they are now constantly exposed. I verily believe that the money which such a ministry would save to the city would be far greater than the amount of all the salaries required for its proper maintenance.

CHAPTER III.

PART I.

WHAT IS THE KIND OF SUFFERING THAT POVERTY
OCCASIONS? AMONG WHOM IS IT MOST KEENLY
FELT?

ALL are familiar with that general classification of society, by which it is separated into the three divisions, of the rich, the poor, and those who have a competency of the blessings of life. But all seem not to be aware that poverty, as well as affluence or competency, is a comparative term, and that among the poor there are distinctions of condition and character which are quite as strongly marked as are any which are to be found in those that are called the more favored classes. The fact is, that between those who have a competency and the rich there is a very close connection of interests, and a very considerable intimacy of intercourse. They are necessarily brought into contact with each other in the daily business of life. The men who have a competency are those whom the rich employ as their principals, or whom they are accustomed in various ways to trust in their commercial enterprises, in trade, and in the mechanic arts. Here it is felt that a mutual knowledge of character is demanded for mutual security; and these classes have actually a pretty accurate knowledge of each other. But it is not so in the connection

which ordinarily exists between the laborer and his employer. A knowledge of personal character is not here felt to be of very great importance. The laborer, therefore, may even be employed often by those who hardly know his name, who never know whether he is married or unmarried, whether he is working only for himself or for a family, or whether he is virtuous or vicious, and who have not a thought concerning him but in connection with the service for which he may occasionally be wanted. The poor are therefore too often considered merely as a class of society, — a single body, — and a judgment is formed of the character of the whole of them from the unfavorable specimens which we see abroad as vagrants, or which come to our houses for broken food, or which are found in almshouses. This, however, is unjust, and to many greatly injurious. The truth is, that there are those who are perpetually passing from the ranks of the poor into those which we distinguish as the higher classes. And there are those who are daily passing from competency, and even from affluence, into the ranks of the poor. In an extensive acquaintance with the families of this class of the population of a city affecting facts are disclosed, illustrative of the vanity of depending on the permanence of earthly prosperity. Nor is the change from affluence or from competency to poverty always to be ascribed to vice. It is not more fair to infer of a man that he lacks principle, or is vicious, because he is poor, than it would be wise to infer of a man that he is virtuous, and worthy of all confidence, because he is rich. Let us then look at the poor as they are, — a very mixed class, — and comprehending as many varieties, both of condition and character, as are to be found in

the other classes of society. And that I may give as much distinctness as I can to the exposition which I wish to offer of the recent and the immediate condition of the poor, let me endeavor to mark the boundary within which peculiarly, though not altogether exclusively, is included the class of those to whom my ministry is devoted, and whose instruction, improvement, and happiness is the great object of my labors.

WHO, THEN, ARE THE POOR?

I answer, that any one who depends on charity for the means of subsistence during the time of this dependence, and in the degree of it, is poor. No one, in the strict sense of the term, is poor who is not thus dependent. But even this dependence is very far from being equal among those who feel it. There are those, for example, who are only occasionally and partially poor. There are those, too, who are frequently and considerably poor. And there are those who are constantly and absolutely poor. And between these general divisions there are examples of every supposable degree and kind of poverty. Any one who should go among the poor, either to exercise the office of a Christian minister, or to discharge the duties of Christian kindness to them, without clearly comprehending these distinctions, and without keeping them constantly in his view, would be exposed to many mistaken efforts in his ministry, and to much injurious application of his bounty. I advert to them, however, only that I may be more entirely understood in speaking of the sufferings of this class of our fellow-beings.

First. There are those who are constantly and absolutely poor.

This division of the poor comprehends those who live wholly by beggary. But it also includes others who are not less dependent on charity than are those who live wholly by begging, but who seldom or never ask for assistance. Nay, it comprehends some who are very virtuous and estimable, as well as some who are greatly debased and vicious. Let me illustrate what I mean by examples.

I am accustomed to go to one house, in three rooms of which six families are living. Here are six husbands, their six wives, and their several children. There are other families who are living together in the same manner; and a much larger number whose condition is only so far better that each family has a room by itself. Is it asked, do these families earn nothing for their support? I answer, that the wives absolutely earn nothing; and I know not how in our city they can earn any thing. In Paris they might have been fishwomen, or they might have hoed a potato field in Ireland. But there is here no employment for them. Some of them, indeed, hardly know how to use a needle; and some are almost as unused to washing as they are to sewing. If our commerce were now as active and as prosperous as it once was, their husbands would perhaps obtain work enough to enable them to live as comfortably as they have ever lived. But during the last four months they could not sometimes obtain a day's work in a fortnight. Is it asked, how then do they pay their rent, and retain for themselves a home? I answer, they do not pay it, and are still in debt for it; and both they and their landlords are looking to "better times" for the liquidation of this debt. There are none who feel any strong interest in these families, or who are disposed to assist

them beyond the demands of the passing day. As they cannot, therefore, borrow, they must of necessity either beg or steal. The children, therefore, and their mothers, pass from house to house to seek for food, while the husbands and fathers either remain at home or are standing idle in the streets or upon the wharves, except, perchance, when they can earn twelve and a half or twenty-five cents by the strange circumstance of having an opportunity for an hour or two of labor. This is indeed the hair-breadth division between partial self-support and constant and absolute dependence. My heart has been ready to sink within me while I have been sitting in an upper chamber, and have looked upon one bed, which is the resting-place of a husband and wife and two children, and upon another, in the opposite corner, where a husband and wife and four children sleep, and to which the wife was then confined by so severe an illness as seemed to require all that quiet and kindness and the tenderest nursing could do for her. Suppose, then, that the wife in one of these families should die, the family in this case is generally broken up. The husband provides for himself, and his children are either sent to the House of Industry or to one of our asylums, or are scattered among their friends. But should one of the husbands die, or, which is not an uncommon occurrence, should one of these husbands desert his family, this family, deprived of the little that was earned in it, must and will fall into absolute dependence. And how are this mother and her children to be provided for? She probably knows not how to read, and her children, kept from school, are growing up in almost equal ignorance. In the present state of our institutions for the poor, therefore, they are compelled to beg. And

how are these children employed when they are not begging? They are either loitering about their houses, or they are playing in the streets, or they are in corners in which they feel themselves to be safe while practising their petty gambling, or they are endeavoring to *find* something which they may sell for a few cents, with which they will purchase for themselves indulgences that cannot be obtained by begging. The question is a very solemn one, — what is the duty of society in regard to these children? Their moral capacities have no development compared with that even of their intellectual powers. They have, in truth, sometimes a marvellous shrewdness and ingenuity in evil. And not only do they early become deceivers, profane, lewd, and dishonest, but even *accustomed* to the use of ardent spirits. Should any of them even escape a prison, which is not very probable, they will be degraded and miserable for life. The families to which I here refer are the least generally known of any among us, and they are far from being the greatest sufferers among the poor. They are considered, too, by most of those who take any thought for them, as beyond remedial influence; and the language concerning them is, “for their absolute necessities, leave them to get their bread as they may, and when they fall into crime, let the law take its course with them.” This, however, is an unchristian and a wicked sentiment, and its prevalence is doing much to perpetuate the evil which, by a wise and Christian policy, to a considerable extent might be obviated.

But these alone do not comprehend the whole of the constantly and absolutely poor. There are families of mechanics which have fallen into this condition, even from a state of very comfortable competency. There are

husbands and wives of this class, now far advanced in life, who literally have nothing but their little stock of poor furniture, and who are incapable of labor. Some of them are truly virtuous; and all of them, in an important sense, are respectable. They have, perhaps, been inefficient, and not as provident as they should have been for a time of weakness, or of sickness, or of old age. But they were not wholly, and perhaps not at all, dependent on charity till they were past the time of labor. There are also single women, both widows and those who never were married, of exemplary characters, who, by different causes, have been brought to a state of entire reliance on others for support. I know those in this condition who have been nurses, and who, when their strength was broken down, soon expended all that they had been able to save from their earnings. In some instances, even years of dependence have followed. Here, too, is an aged and enfeebled mother, who has been confined to her room for a year or two by the charge of a sick son. These two constitute the family. This son may yet linger in the state in which he now is for years, and the utmost which this mother can do is to minister to the comfort of her child. I long visited a venerable woman, now in heaven, who was past seventy years of age, and who for years had the sole care of a deranged daughter. Except her poor household stuff, and her clothing, which was as poor, she literally had nothing. But poor as she was, human life furnishes few examples of a higher order of piety or virtue than hers. And I visit another, whose husband is incapable of labor, and who has two idiot sons living with her, one twelve, and the other twenty years of age. Here, also, are aged sisters living together, and bowed

down by years and infirmities. There is no service by which they could earn even a dollar in a year. And here are widows without children, living alone, and past all labor, who must either be supported by charity or perish. All these, I repeat, — and I might easily add to their number, — are virtuous poor, notwithstanding their absolute dependence on kindness for subsistence; nay, some of them, in moral and religious worth, and, I believe, in the sight of God, are among the purest and best of this world. They are poor in earthly possessions; but they are already rich in that which is the best good even of this life, — in a mind at peace with God and with itself; and as surely as there is a life beyond the grave, they will soon find themselves to be heirs of eternal happiness. I go also into one family where is an aged father, who cannot earn a shilling. He is living with his feeble daughters, who can scarcely do more than their father. And I go into another, where an aged wife is doing all that she can do, in the charge of a totally blind and helpless husband. In one family is a husband, who is passing to the grave by a lingering decline. If he were well, and even without employment, his wife could do something for their support. But she can now leave neither him nor her children for an hour; nor could she do any thing as a seamstress, even if she could be supplied with work. And in another family is a mother, who has long been confined by sickness, and who has supported herself and her children by living at service, till the loss of her health brought her to poverty. She is now nursed by these children, and has no resource for support but charity. I refer to these examples of absolute and entire dependence, because it is important to realize that even this

dependence by no means necessarily implies or supposes peculiar vice. There are, indeed, families which avail themselves even of the food that is obtained by begging to obtain the means of living in intoxication and riot and all possible debasement. And there are beggars who employ every mode of imposture to obtain their objects. But let us understand also that there are those who are sometimes compelled to beg, because they are wholly unable to work, or because they cannot obtain the work by which they might support themselves, who yet deliberately choose to suffer much rather than ask for assistance, and who never ask for it while they can subsist without it. To some of these families the past winter has been a season of very painful trial; for much of the bounty which, under more favorable circumstances, would have been appropriated for their comfort, has been diverted into other channels. The families of the absolutely poor have indeed greatly increased among us during the past winter by the failure of all the kinds of employment to which the poor look for support; and with beggary we have reason to fear that the tendencies and preparations have increased to crime and misery. This is a state of things which demands serious consideration. For all those, even of the most absolutely poor, who are yet poor by the act of God, there is no difficulty of making a tolerably competent provision. But for the poverty which is originating in ignorance and sin, and in which ignorance and sin are indefinitely extending among us, some, and no small accountability, lies with those who might devise and provide the means for its prevention. Is it asked, who are those that share this accountability with the most depraved of our poor? I answer, every one who understands,

or who might, if he would, understand, the means of its prevention, and who yet fails to advance the measures by which multitudes of our fellow-beings might be rescued from degradation and ruin.

Secondly. There are those who are but occasionally and partially poor.

These are in the opposite extreme to those who are constantly and absolutely poor. They are now on one and now on the other side of the line between competence and poverty. This is a division of the poor which calls for a strong interest and sympathy. It includes a considerable number of journeymen mechanics, and of other men who depend on monthly wages, or on daily earnings; and who, in a time of general prosperity, are poor only when either they, or some of their family, are visited with protracted sickness. It includes, also, tailoresses, a subordinate class of milliners, respectable nurses, skilful and industrious laundresses, and some others who are constantly supplied with work, while they can do it, by the enterprising mechanics who employ them. Some of this class, by maintaining a wise economy in their expenditures, can and do make an important provision for the seasons of the failure of work, or of debility and sickness, by depositing all which they can spare from their earnings in the savings bank. Some of them, however, who have large families, can but meet their necessary expenses by their daily labors. But while the heads of these families have their health, they need not and they ask not for charity. They are not *then* poor. It is important, however, to understand that a very small reverse of circumstances may, in a short time, bring them to poverty. To these reverses they

are constantly exposed; and while suffering under them they will be partially and temporarily poor. I have said that sickness may bring them to temporary poverty. So also may any personal injury, which disqualifies them for any considerable time for labor; so also may the failure of their employer; and so also may a temporary suspension of demand for the products of their labor. Some of this class have suffered greatly through the past winter. They have, in truth, suffered far more, and some of them from pressing want, than they who have lived amidst the greatest filth, and whose whole dependence has been upon daily beggary. I must again refer to examples.

But here I must say that I feel obliged to speak in very general terms, because it is by no means impossible that my report may fall into the hands of some whom I must have in my view in speaking of this division of the poor; and I would neither gratify vanity nor offend delicacy by personalities which may easily be recognized. While I am cautious not to indulge my imagination by supposing what does not exist, I will be alike careful not so to designate individuals, that either themselves or others may feel that I am calling attention to them.

It is well known that a large number of those who have depended on their wages or their small salaries for the support of their families within the past year have been thrown out of employment. Take the case, then, first, of those who have husbanded their small means with the best economy, and who have "laid by something for a day of trouble." They have been obliged to have recourse to this little fund, and it is at last expended. They have been industrious, temperate,

and upright, as well as frugal. They have cherished a sense of the worth of character, and have felt themselves to be respectable and respected; and they never wanted work while there was any active demand for service in the department of labor in which they were educated; but in consequence of the prevailing embarrassments in commerce and in mercantile enterprise they have been thrown out of employment. How hard is it with such men to beg! How unutterably distressing to them is poverty! They may shrink from debt; and yet they must contract debts which they have perhaps no confidence that they will ever be able to pay. These are circumstances which, to my knowledge, have wrung bitter tears from men who, with interesting families around them for which they could once provide amply, have gone from day to day to their homes unable to supply the food and fuel without which their families could not be comfortable. And I have witnessed, too, the desperation of mind to which this condition may bring a man. He that is willing to live by beggary, and who has been accustomed through his life to poverty, disorder, and dirt, knows nothing of the sufferings of him who, having lived in cleanliness and comfort by his honest industry, is brought to those circumstances in which not even his readiness for any honest service will enable him to pay for a shelter and for food for his family.

I visit families in which, by the united industry of the husband and wife, or of the parents and children, or perhaps by the single efforts of a mother, a comfortable support is obtained while they have health and employment. But suppose one of these families, by the failure of those who employed them, not to be able for

some months to find more than half the work which is indispensable for their support,—yet rent must be paid, and food and fuel and clothing must be provided. But how? He or she to whom the family have looked for this provision cannot now make it. Let any one, then, who would understand the actual condition of this family, pause for a while and dwell upon it, and attempt to make it his own. Oh, how open would be our hearts and hands to the relief of such sufferers, if our sympathy with them were in any measure accordant with that which we should think we had a right to claim if we were ourselves in any comparative state of embarrassment and want! Or suppose that a husband, on whose daily labors a family has depended, is taken off from his labors by months of sickness. I might use almost any terms in describing the distress of families in this condition, and the description would be no fiction. There are, indeed, families belonging to this division of the poor, and with which I am intimately connected, which, even through the past winter, have not looked to me or to any one else for charity. While hundreds have not been able to obtain more than the work of a day or two in a week, they have had as much as they could do every day; and they have neither been interrupted in their labors by sickness or by any untoward event. Yet it would not surprise me at any time to find them in need of temporary assistance, without which they might fall into lasting embarrassments. This, I repeat, is a highly interesting class of the population of a city. For although there is not more virtue in any condition of society than is to be found among families of this class, while they have employment and the means of self-sup-

port, their moral dangers are yet very great in the time of any considerable and continued distress, arising from the difficulty of providing for their daily wants. In this application of it, most emphatically is charity twice blessed; and, to a benevolent mind at least, quite equal is the good and happiness which is received to that which is imparted. By the well-timed and judiciously directed kindness of a few weeks, or it may be of a few months, even years of competence and comfort may be secured.

Thirdly. Besides the constantly and absolutely poor, and those who are poor but occasionally and partially, there is a very large intermediate division, consisting of those who are often and considerably dependent upon charity. Here, also, I must explain myself by facts and examples.

In speaking of those who are but occasionally and temporarily poor, I ought to have remarked that, among men, this class consists of those who not only obtain constant employment while they are able to work, or while there is any work to be done in their department of labor, but who also have a decided superiority of skill and character to recommend them to their employers; and among females, of those who, if they work for tailors, can do the finest parts of their work, and can do it in the best manner; or who, in any other service, claim and obtain a preference, because there will be a demand for their skill as long as taste and fashion shall retain their influence. The laundress, or the seamstress, distinguished in her employment, like those who are eminent in other callings, has few competitors. The demand for talents like hers, even in a time of general depression, may be above rather than

below the supply that is to be obtained of them. But, on the other hand, even in the season of the greatest activity of business and of the greatest demand for common laborers, or workmen of ordinary powers, a supply, even to any extent that is desired, is easily obtained. And for the coarse work of tailors, of slop-shops, and of any kind upon which females may be employed, there is always a sufficient number to meet the calls of the market. For this coarse work also, at the best, the prices paid are so small, that even when it can constantly be supplied, a comfortable subsistence for a family can hardly be obtained from it, even by the most unremitted labor. But it cannot be constantly supplied even in a time of the greatest general prosperity; and for more than a year past the demand for it has been so greatly diminished that many can obtain no share of it; and even the most favored workers consider it as a great boon when enough of it can be given to them to enable them to pay their rent, and in part, at most, to purchase the food and fuel which are necessary for their subsistence. Let these circumstances be taken into view, and I shall be more fully understood in speaking of those who are often and considerably poor.

This division comprehends some who were long among the partially and temporarily poor. A respectable mechanic, for example, who had always provided well for his family while he had health and employment, but who had accumulated nothing, has died, leaving an infirm wife and several young children. His widow is very virtuous and well disposed. But she has been accustomed only to the ordinary use of her needle, and she has not strength to go out to daily

labor; she must, therefore, through the rest of her life, to a certain extent, be dependent on charity. I know families of this description which it would be ungenerous and unjust to send to an almshouse. Or an aged and sick mother may, for years, be partially supported by her children who live with her, and who do all that they can for her, who yet, by their united exertions, can in part only support the family. There are also many widows with young children, who have, in general, pretty good health, are capable of labor, and earnestly desirous of it, but who are often, and for a considerable time, wholly without employment. In this division of the poor, there are some of exemplary characters who are not far removed from absolute and constant dependence; and there are those, too, whose poverty is immediately attributable to their intemperance, thriftlessness, and indolence. There are widows who are faithfully toiling and patiently suffering for the instruction and well-being of their children, who cannot, by their best exertions, earn more than twenty-five or thirty dollars in a year; and there are suffering wives of intemperate husbands who do what they can to earn a little, and who are hardly assisted at all by those to whom they have the best right to look for support, who yet ought not, with their young children, to be left to the miseries of unpitied and unrelieved want, — embarrassed as we may sometimes feel ourselves to be by the doubt, whether we are not supporting the idle and intemperate in their sins, even by giving food and clothing to their hungry and almost naked families. It is also a very important circumstance that, in this division of the poor, there are hundreds of children who are in the most imminent danger of moral ruin. Some

of them are occasionally sent out to beg, by which their moral feelings are not only blunted but they are brought also into connection with the habitual beggars and other idlers who go to no school, and who early become fearfully vicious. Many of these children are kept from school during a large part of the winter to gather fuel; and when again sent to school they are truants, their names are stricken by the teachers from their lists, and they are soon vagrants. Many, likewise, at eleven and twelve years of age, and before they have acquired any competent knowledge of writing and arithmetic, are placed in shops and offices as waiters or runners, that, by earning a dollar a week, their parents may be enabled to pay their weekly rent. So great are the evils to which these boys are exposed from their association with each other, and from their daily temptations to deception and dishonesty, that I consider the probability to be comparatively small of their future virtue and usefulness. This division of the poor comprehends the greatest amount, though we do not often see in it the greatest degree, of suffering. To a very large part of them, however, the past winter has been peculiarly distressing.

I would refer any one who thinks that he cannot visit the poor, and who yet believes that they might obtain the employment necessary for self-support if they would seek for it, to those from whom alone they can look for employment. Ask a man who is at the head of an extensive slop-shop establishment, whether he has been for a long time obliged, and is still obliged, to dismiss, empty handed, any considerable number of females applying to him for work, and he will answer you, "hundreds." And so it has been, and still is, in all the

departments of labor on which females depend for subsistence. Nor have the opportunities for employment been more favorable among our laboring men. The winter has been to them a season of most dangerous idleness. Who has not seen them standing together in groups upon our wharves, at the corners of the streets, and about the doors of the shops which attract idlers as the sweetened vessel, which is designed to procure their death, attracts flies? It is literally true, that there have been, and that there still are, considerable numbers of laboring men who might have obtained for their families a competent support, and who would have supported their families in comparative comfort, if they could have had work, who yet have not had, and could not obtain, in many weeks of the winter, work enough to enable them to purchase the food necessary for their families. There are those also, among poor females, with whom the steady sewing of ten or twelve hours a day, at the low price at which they must do their work, would not enable them to meet the absolutely necessary expenses of every week or month. If, then, four or five weeks shall pass, — and this is sometimes the case, — in which they cannot obtain any work from those to whom they look for employment, and if day labor in families cannot be had by them, or if their strength shall be inadequate to this labor, where can they look for support but to charity? Here, then, it may easily be supposed, that great and bitter want must have been experienced, and must still be felt. And so, indeed, it has been, and is. I could easily give affecting details of this distress. I could exhibit the struggles I have seen of virtue with the sufferings and temptations of want which could not fail to awaken a strong interest

even in hearts of no uncommon sensibility. But my object is alone to do what I may, in the brief space within which I must confine my report, to make the past and present sufferings of the poor more clearly and fully understood than perhaps they can be where there is no classification of the conditions of the poor. I have wished, to a certain extent, to show what is the kind of suffering that poverty occasions, and among whom this suffering is most keenly felt. This is a knowledge which is very important to a wise and efficient direction, either of public or of private charity.



PART II.

THE WAGES GIVEN TO THE POOR.

[IN his intimate acquaintance with the poor, and direct and frequent intercourse with them, Dr. Tuckerman has the following fact most forcibly presented and impressed upon him, and he repeatedly *urges* it upon our consideration; namely, the *inadequacy* of the wages paid to a large class of the poor to supply even the bare necessities of life, and the *frequent occurrence* of periods, even of months together, during which numbers, and even large numbers, in our cities find it impossible to procure any employment whatever by which to keep themselves from destitution and suffering. He says:]

It is thought by some that in a community like ours every one who is temperate, honest, and industrious, may always obtain the means of a comfortable

support for a family. And generally it is true that such as these may for the most part keep themselves from dependence upon charity. But this is not always the case. Widows and wives on whom devolves the whole charge of a family cannot always find employment. The wages, too, for which they work are generally so small that with their best endeavors in a time of health very many of them can but pay their rent and obtain the simplest food and clothing.

[Again, Dr. Tuckerman says:]

Let me say a word in respect to the wages which are given to the poor, and especially to poor females.

I have recently received the "report of a committee, appointed by the citizens of Philadelphia in February, to learn what is the effect upon the comfort and morals of the females who depend on their work for a support, of the low rate of wages paid to that class of society; — to what extent the sufferings of the poor are attributable to those low wages; — and what is the effect of benevolent or of assistance societies on the industry of the laboring poor?" These are important inquiries, and they deserve attention. There must, indeed, and there will be, there and here, and in every large city, seasons in which there will be great numbers of those who depend on their daily labors for their daily subsistence who will seek in vain for the opportunity to labor. The supply of laborers in a city will often be beyond the demand for them. Nor, probably, in these seasons, could the united efforts of the benevolent furnish any considerable part of them with constant employment. Nor do I perceive how it is practicable essentially to raise the wages of the poor females who

depend for work upon the supplies which are furnished from slop-shops, or by upholsterers, or by shoemakers, or by any of the mechanics who employ them. Still, it is important that it should be understood that there is a vast amount of want and suffering which is to be attributed to the low wages that are given to these females, and to the absolute impossibility with many men and women, who are able and willing to work, at certain seasons to obtain the employment by which they may live. It is very important that it should be understood that, revolting as may be the forms in which poverty is sometimes seen in our streets, or at our doors, there is yet a very great amount of want and of distress which is not to be ascribed to vice. And it is important, too, that these causes of want and of suffering should be well known, not only as a means of calling forth the sympathy and kindness of those who are able to send or to carry to the destitute the relief which they need, but also to induce those who call for the occasional services of the poor to remunerate them fairly, fully, and, when they are able, even generously, for these services. I am sure that there are great numbers of the poor who now cannot subsist without the occasional assistance of benevolent societies, or of benevolent individuals, who would yet most gladly, if they could do it, support themselves by their own labors; and who would never ask for charity if the wages of six days' labor would meet the necessities of the week. To the conscience, then, of those who give this occasional employment to the poor, I appeal for the justice towards them which they cannot demand for themselves, and which human laws cannot enforce upon us. Let us feel — for we should feel — the injustice

and the meanness, the oppression and the cruelty, for the sake of the small savings that may thus accrue to us, of availing ourselves of those seasons and circumstances in which the poor are compelled to be idle, or to work at the lowest possible prices. Or if any one resists the demand on the ground of its justice, let me pray him to consider how much better is the charity which thus enables a family to live independently than is that which, in giving that which has not been earned, may be a means at least of fostering indolence and of encouraging a willingness to be dependent.

When want enters the dwelling of him or her who would but cannot find the employment by which an honorable subsistence may be obtained, — where, nevertheless, there are children to be warmed and fed and clothed; and where the only alternatives left to a virtuous mind are to beg or to borrow, — there “want” comes indeed “like an armed man,” to send dismay into the soul. What, then, shall be done? Let these families be left without sympathy, without encouragement, without the temporary aid which they require, and they will accumulate debts, every increase of which will increase the difficulties of their condition, and more effectually break down their spirits and expose them to intemperance as a means of obtaining an oblivion of their sufferings; or they will be gradually brought to a willing dependence on begging and charity. How can it be otherwise? Let a poor man, disposed to labor, but unable, though he passes from wharf to wharf and from door to door to ask for it, to find employment, be yet called upon from week to week for his rent, which he cannot pay, and by his wife and children for food with which he cannot supply them, and he

must have no small energy of mind and principle to maintain his virtue. Or suppose a widow, — and there are many such widows whom I well know, — who has three, or four, or five children dependent on her for daily bread, whose best, whose only resort for the support of herself and children is the work which is given out from slop-shops. This work consists principally of clothing for seamen and for laborers, and it must be sold for those by whom it is made at the lowest possible advance upon the cost of the stock of which it is made. It must, therefore, be made by the poor, by whom the work can be done at the lowest possible rate. And many have been grateful for the privilege of obtaining this work, — for even this could not always be obtained, — even when seven and eight cents only have been given for making shirts and pantaloons. I have known women, indeed, to be glad to get pantaloons to make for six and a quarter cents per pair, who could not, however, by their best industry, make more than two pairs in a day. How, then, are they to pay their rent, and to obtain fuel and food?

CHAPTER IV.

THE MEANS MOST EFFECTUAL FOR RELIEVING THE WANTS OF THE POOR.

How may we most effectually and most judiciously provide for those necessities of the poor for which it will be absolutely necessary to make provision?

The first step, I think, which is to be taken in answering this inquiry, is distinctly to conceive what we ought not to do, and what it would be very injudicious that we should do. For the considerations that should restrain us from one course of conduct will throw no small degree of light upon the principles which will lead us in an opposite and wiser direction.

First, then, what ought we not to do, even in a time of more than usual distress, for the assistance and relief of the poor?

Three means of relief have been proposed, either of which, if adopted, I believe, would conduce to an ultimate and very considerable increase of the evil.

A proposition has been repeatedly suggested for relieving the poor in the important concern of their rent. This is, indeed, a very heavy part of their burden, and there are cases in which they must be assisted to bear it. It has therefore been asked, would it not even be a good investment of money to build a number of houses expressly for the poor, which shall be rented to

them for half or two-thirds the sum which they must now pay for rooms far inferior to those that might thus be provided for them? This without doubt would be to the families which would be so accommodated a great good. But it must be considered that the high rents required of the poor arise from the excess of the number of poor among us. If, then, we build more habitations for them, shall we lessen or increase this excess? Ought we not rather to do what we may to induce those who can well be spared to leave the city, and to seek in the country the employment which they cannot find here? I believe that an enlarged Christian kindness strongly requires of us in this way to seek a diminution of the number of our poor, and let the number be diminished of those who want the rooms, and the rents of these rooms will soon find their proper level. This is the only way in which I think that this evil is to be effectually remedied.

Another inquiry which has often been proposed is, may not some new modes be found of employing the poor? Or, may we not do something for the female poor, by establishing another house for employing those who cannot elsewhere find employment?

Here the same difficulty again occurs. We shall thus ultimately increase that very excess which we should endeavor to lessen. We shall thus offer a most effectual encouragement to the poor of the country to come here for the labor with which we thus offer to supply them. And having thus kept those among us who might otherwise have left us, and even increased the number, it will be found, after all, that we have relieved but a very few in comparison with the whole; that we have given a relief for which but little

gratitude will be felt, — for there will be more complaints of the lowness of wages under such circumstances than of thanks for wages received ; and if in the work thus given we shall have lessened the demand for similar work a few months hence, — and this will be almost the necessary consequence of any considerable establishment for the purpose, — we shall have but deferred their suffering for a few months, perhaps then to have increased them. This is therefore a measure the adoption of which would be unwise. Unnecessary and useless work must occasion ultimate loss somewhere ; and indirectly, at least, to the laborers employed upon it, for it so far disenables their employers to employ them. And the work in any department, even of useful labor, which has furnished a supply beyond demand, must check the operations of employers, and thus bring distress upon those who depend for the means of subsistence on daily labor.

A third inquiry is, would it not be advisable to establish two or three *soup-houses* and two or three depositories of vegetables, to which the suffering poor might go for small supplies?

Establishments of this kind are well known in Europe, and they have been adopted in some cities in our own country in times of great distress among the poor. And they are without doubt means of relieving the necessities of many who should in some way be assisted.

But I have as little doubt whether they are means of increasing the pauperism of a city. It must be seen at once how direct will be their tendency to bring idlers and vagrants from the country, who would much rather in this way be supplied with food at their

own homes, however mean and miserable those homes might be, than live in subjection to the discipline of a country alms-house. It will be impossible, too, in these establishments, to maintain a principle of discrimination. The indolent and intemperate will therefore not only obtain their full share of the bounty, but they will sell that which you give them for food for the very means of indulging this intemperance, which is, perhaps, above all others, the cause of their poverty and sufferings. Nor is it an unimportant consideration that these establishments, having once begun, it will be believed, by those for whom they are intended, will be *continued*; and they will be looked to for the means of living in the winter. The excitement to personal effort will therefore be proportionally checked. There are not many who will put forth all their energies for their families if they can look with confidence to a foreign supply of their wants. This is as true, indeed, of those in the more favored classes of society as among the poor; and it would be happier for many of the young in these classes, if they were reared under a strong sense of the dependence of their condition through life upon their personal exertions for respectability and for fortune. We are not knowingly to entrench upon the law of God's providence, that every man shall do what he can for himself and for those of his own household. In a century or two hence, if we are to go in the unchristian course in which other cities have gone, establishments of this kind may be necessary here. But it is hoped, before they will be resorted to, that due inquiry will be made respecting their tendencies and their consequences where they have been adopted.

It is asked, then, how should we act, or what is it our

duty to do in this very difficult work of provision for the poor of our city?

Before I give my opinion upon this question, I may be allowed to exonerate myself from a suspicion to which I feel that I may be exposed by the precautions which I have suggested in relation to the exercise of our charity. It may be said that I have learned to look upon the poor rather in the light in which they are seen by the political economist than as a Christian. But I answer, that I should esteem that to be a false and injurious principle in political economy which is not in perfect consistency with Christian morality. I would, however, consider the Christian precepts in regard to the poor as I would the language of the New Testament respecting the rich, in connection with those qualifications which other precepts of our religion as well as good common sense require us to employ in the practical interpretations of them. While, therefore, I would understand and feel that the poorest of human beings, equally with the richest, is a child of God; that every human being, however poor and however degraded, has a common nature with him who is the most favored, and is his *brother*; that for our means and opportunities for instructing the ignorant, of supplying the wants of the destitute, and of recovering the most debased to virtue and to God, we are finally to give account to him who has made us to differ, and who has intrusted us with these means that we might be the instruments of his benevolence to our fellow-creatures; and while I would feel all the power of the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the blessedness of the privilege to which we may be advanced by them, "inasmuch as ye have fed the

hungry, and clothed the naked, and visited the sick and the prisoner, ye have shown this kindness unto me." I would yet remember also that our religion with equal distinctness teaches us, if not in its letter, yet in its spirit, that we are not by our charity to encourage idleness and vice, and thus to increase and perpetuate pauperism and misery. As we are not to do evil that good may come, so neither are we to mistake that for goodness which a little judgment and foresight might teach us would inevitably lead to evil. As, therefore, I think it to be the Christian duty of parishes in the country to take the charge of their own poor, I would say let us act upon this sentiment. And I think that the inhabitants of a city are acting for the best good of that part of the very poor among them who belong to the country by using all fair and Christian means of inducing them to return, or of sending them to the places from which they came, where they will be far less exposed to vice, and where their wants will be at least equally well supplied. And let us do what we may for the relief of the city, we shall always have a great number of poor among us, to whom it will not be more our duty than it should be our happiness to do good as far as God shall enable us. Nor is it desirable that we should have no poor among us. Nay, it is even desirable to awaken more of the spirit of Christian charity than now exists among us. The more favored classes of our society are far behind the requisitions of our religion in regard to their duties towards the poor. But I comprehend in the term "charity" far more than alms-giving. We should aim not alone at the greatest immediate but at the greatest ultimate good. We should do good at the expense

and even at the hazard of the least possible evil. We should make alms-giving, as far as possible, minister not only to comfort but to piety and virtue. This will be found at once the truest economy.

That we may most effectually meet the wants of the poor, I would say then, *first*, that it should be insisted upon that there shall be *a discrimination in the distribution of alms by our charitable societies.*

It is objected to these *societies* that while the good they do is partial and temporary, the evils to which they conduce are extensive and permanent. It is said that they are known to the poor, and have consequently a direct tendency to increase a willingness to be dependent; that they do and often must support the idle in their indolence, and furnish to the intemperate the means of living in this sin; that they are exposed to almost every species of deception; and that they are a means of drawing into the cities, and detaining them there, the most dependent among the poor. I am aware that these societies are exposed to these objections. Acting as they do independently of each other, they must often commit great mistakes and occasion no inconsiderable evil. But is this necessary? It cannot be denied that these societies give great relief to many poor who could hardly be assisted in any other way. The good they do is too important to be lost; and I am not willing to believe the case is hopeless.

It should be known that our benevolent societies endeavor to maintain the principle of discrimination in the exercise of their charities. They *visit* the families which apply for their bounty, and learn what they can respecting their characters as well as their wants. The difficulty, however, is, that as they now act, without

any communication with each other, they do, and necessarily must, interfere with each other. They must depend alone upon those whom they relieve for a knowledge of what is done for them by others, — and they know but little of those who receive their bounty than what may be learned from themselves and from their poor neighbors, who may be interested either to uphold or to injure them.

But is it not practicable that there should be an understanding and a concert of action between these societies? Can no plan be devised for *their closer union with each other*, or by which they may know what is done by each other, and by the overseers of the poor in the wards in which they severally act?

It is asked how we shall obviate these evils. The most simple measure of which I can conceive for the purpose, and the only one by which I believe the object can be gained, is, that a registry shall be made every week in a book kept for the purpose in the office of the overseers of the poor of the persons relieved by them in their several wards, and that similar books be kept at this office by the agents of all our benevolent societies. A considerable increase of work will be laid upon the clerks of these societies. But they will find it for their advantage to remunerate their service. I have no doubt this measure would give thirty-three and a third per cent additional value to their funds.

In the *second* place, I think it to be of great importance that *immediate and more vigorous measures should be adopted for preventing the accumulation of foreign poor in the city.*

There would be no difficulty in providing for our

native poor, if it were for them only that we were called upon to make provision. But vast numbers of the poor of other countries are thrown upon us. I say it not in the spirit of reproach, — they are taking the bread of our own children. They are here, and must have their share of the labors of the poor and of the bounty which we have to bestow upon the poor. Unhappily, it has been thought to be good policy to encourage emigration to our country; and we have held out the lure to the restless and discontented throughout the world as well as to the enterprising and virtuous. It is asked, what remedy is proposed for this evil? I answer, we require new legislative measures in regard to the foreign poor who come to us. Masters of vessels are now alone liable for the passengers they may land upon our shores, — and liable alone to the authorities of the town where they may be so landed. The laws are therefore easily evaded. Passengers of this description, I am told, are put on shore at places from which they may easily come to the city. Those who bring them thus evade the bonds, and are not checked from bringing so many as they please of such as can but barely collect money enough to pay their passage. If *owners* of vessels should be made liable for passengers who are brought out in their vessels; and if the authorities of any town, by ascertaining in what vessels any vagrant poor were brought to our country, may prosecute these owners for damages wherever such may have been landed, in their own town or elsewhere, the evil would certainly not be so great.

And in the *third* place, I would say, *that means should be taken to impress our community with a*

deeper sense of the relation which Christianity recognizes between the more and less favored classes of society, — between the rich and poor.

It is not to be forgotten that after all the vigilance that can be exercised and all the judgment and caution that can be maintained for the prevention of pauperism and for security against deceptions and the abuse of charity, there will still be very many, in a city like ours, who will be more or less dependent upon the care and kindness of others for subsistence. And in view of the gospel of Jesus Christ, if not of the doctrine of political economists, these *have claims* upon those who are able to provide for them. I go further, — there are many who are comparatively unworthy of the bounty which they seek, and yet have, if Christianity be true, strong claims upon the consideration of their fellow-beings in happier conditions than their own. These claims may, in part, be answered by public and by private benevolent institutions. But there is no *public* provision or *associated* exercise of charity that can supersede or be substituted for *individual obligation* and *individual responsibility*. This obligation and responsibility is felt to an important extent among us. But if it were felt as it should be, there would be no need of benevolent societies. *Here, then, is the great end at which we should aim.* And I am doubtful whether the blessing so obtained would be greater to the object of charitable regard and care or to the favored instruments of such charity.

It is asked, what are the duties of the intelligent and the rich in regard to the poor? What is demanded of us as private Christians?

I answer, I think it is contemplated by our religion that the more favored classes should strongly feel that they have a common nature with those in less favored conditions of life; that opportunities and means are responsibilities; and that it is God's will that they should be his instruments for accomplishing the purposes of his benevolence to the poor. They should therefore *visit* them, and do what they can to help and improve them. To be more explicit, every individual who has the means of assisting a few families should feel his obligation to seek out and to know a few families with which he shall connect himself as a Christian friend. Every man *who is disposed for this intercourse* may find leisure for it. Let him visit these families once a week, — and if he cannot do it at other times, do it on Sunday. And let him feel that in forming this connection he has taken upon himself a moral charge; that he is to be the adviser, and to seek the improvement of parents and children, — to aid the parents in keeping their children at school, and in placing them out as apprentices; to promote temperance, industry, order, and cleanliness among them; to connect them, when practicable, with some congregation of worshippers; to inspire them with a proper self-respect; in times of sickness and sorrow to be their comforter; and in seasons of want so to minister to their necessities that their energies for self-support may be increased rather than lessened by the bounty they receive. The simplest principles of Christianity carried into full exercise would perfectly secure the permanency of all this good among us. We have means enough, intellectual, moral, and pecuniary, to meet all

the demands of our city in regard to the poor. The whole difficulty is to bring these means into use for the purpose. Our great want is a greater prevalence of the true spirit of our religion among the intelligent and the rich in regard to their relation to the poor and the duties that grow out of this relation.

CHAPTER V.

THE TENDENCIES OF CITIES TO AN ACCUMULATION OF POVERTY AND VICE.

I WOULD say a few words upon two topics. First, upon the tendencies of cities to an accumulation of poverty and vice; secondly, upon the importance of an enlightened public sentiment upon this subject as the great means by which to remedy or to prevent the evil. To give effect to what I say, I would adduce a few facts obtained from documents respecting poverty and crime in England.

All have heard of English "poor-rates," — all, however, may not know their origin and progress.

The confiscation of ecclesiastical property in England in the reign of Henry VIII. threw upon the country many thousand beggars who had previously been supplied by the church, and principally by monasteries. It became necessary, therefore, to provide for these beggars; and in this necessity originated the famous Act of the 43d of Elizabeth, under which the poor-rates of England have ever since been levied.

The great objects of this Act were provisions for the support of the aged, blind, impotent, sick, &c.; the employment of children whose parents could not maintain them; the apprenticing of poor children; and setting the idle to work. Commendable as was

this purpose, this very Act has been made the instrument of a vast increase of idleness, beggary, and crime, which it was intended to prevent. The first assessment under this Act was made 1601. The following table shows the progressive rise of "*poor-rates*," the revenue, the national debt, and the population of England:—

Years.	Poor-rates.	Revenue.	Nat. Debt.	Population.
1601	\$200,000	Unknown.	—	5,000,000
1673	840,000	\$1,800,000	—	—
1698	819,000	—	\$664,263	5,400,000
1700	1,000,000	3,895,285	16,394,702	5,475,000
1751	3,000,000	8,532,540	78,293,313	6,467,000
1803	5,348,205	37,996,088	567,050,606	9,000,000
1825	7,784,356	55,187,000	772,322,540	12,000,000

I offer no comments upon this table. My object is to show that wonderful as has been the growth of the revenue of England, and consequently of the accumulation of wealth by individuals, still more wonderful is the disproportion between the growth of the "*poor-rates*" and the increase of population. Should this disproportion continue to increase in the future as it has in the past, how long will even England, with her great resources, be able to sustain the mighty burden?

But even this table does not show the annual expenditure for the poor in England. It is independent of the annual amount of the produce of lands and money bequeathed at different periods for charitable purposes, of the private charities, and of the sums collected for charitable societies, and of the expenses of hospitals and dispensaries for the sick. These, taken together, would probably fall but little short of the amount of *poor-rates*. The question arises, whence has arisen this vast extent of poverty and suffering? Thirty years

ago, in his "Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis," Colquhoun said that "twenty thousand miserable individuals rise there every morning without knowing how they are to be supplied during the passing day, or where, in many cases, they are to lodge the succeeding night." And, twenty-five years ago,¹ he estimated the total number in England and Wales who lived chiefly or wholly upon the labor of others, including criminals, at 1,320,716 persons.

Of these he computed indigent persons, mendicants, vagrants, and gypsies	1,110,716
Of the idle who desert, or but half support, their families	10,000
Of lewd women	100,000
Of rogues, vagabonds, and lottery agents . . .	20,000
Of criminals	80,000
	<hr/>
	1,320,716

This statement, it is worthy of remark, is made from the Parliamentary Abstracts of 1803.

The annual amount of depredation committed on property in the metropolis and vicinity thirty years ago² was estimated by this magistrate at £2,000,000 sterling, and the amount of sums won and lost by gaming in the course of a year at £7,225,000.

We have, however, later records on this subject.

In 1801 the persons totally or partially dependent on the poor-rates in England and Wales are estimated	1,040,000
Or one in nine of the population.	
In 1811	1,840,000
Or one in eight of the population.	
In 1827	1,850,000
Or nearly one in seven of the population.	

¹ This was written in 1830.

² Ibid.

On the 5th of June, 1829, the Duke of Wellington said in the House of Lords that "it appeared from the returns of the last six years that the total number of criminals committed for various offences had increased in the ratio of two-fifths; and that this proportion did not arise from the prevalence of any particular crime, but prevailed in almost every species of crime perpetrated in the metropolis and in the neighboring districts."

In addressing the Commons, Mr. Peel said that "if they compared the state of crime in the metropolis with that in other parts of the country, or in England and Wales at large, the result would be very unfavorable to the former. For last year (1828), if they calculated the proportion which the number of *criminals* in London and Middlesex bore to the population they would find that not less than one person in 383 had been committed for some crime in that year. Of the number of persons similarly committed within the same period in England and Wales the proportion would be found one to every 822 of the entire population.

"In 1821, the number of criminals committed in London and Middlesex amounted to 2,480; the population, 1,167,000.

"In 1826, for London and Middlesex, 3,560 committed; population, 1,349,000.

"Here, then, is an increase of 41 per cent in the number of criminals in 1828 over those of 1821, while there was an increase of only $15\frac{1}{2}$ per cent in the population,—nor does the rate of increase of the number of commitments in England and Wales correspond with that of the population; for a comparison of both in the years 1821 and 1828 shows that crime had in-

creased 26 per cent, while the population had increased but 11½ per cent. Comparing, also, the increase of crime in the metropolis in the seven years beginning 1811 with the seven years ending 1828, and comparing both with the increase of population, it will be found that crime had increased 55 per cent, while the population had increased but 19 per cent, leaving an excess of crime of 36 per cent to be accounted for by other means and causes.”¹

I know that these are details on which some will be unwilling to dwell. Why, it may be asked, do you array before us crimes which we can do nothing to prevent, and tell us of this vast amount of suffering which we can do nothing to relieve? I reply, that I would pray for a serious consideration of this “*frightful difference*,” to use the language of Mr. Peel, “*between the increase of crime and the increase of population*” existing in the very bosom of the most opulent nation of Europe, as a means of the security of our own country from a similar degradation and wretchedness.

I would neither overstate existing evils nor indulge a sickly imagination of those which may be before us. But in the reports which are almost daily brought to us of the vast extent of poverty in Europe, and of the intellectual and moral debasement and the abject misery with which it is connected, it seems to me that God himself is sending forth an admonition to us which ought to thrill through the heart of every statesman and philanthropist in our country. Who can look at these facts without inquiring how it is that such numbers of our race have been brought so low, — why

¹ Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, vol. xxi. p. 867 *et seq.*

it is that the nations of Europe, with their priesthood and churches, their literature and arts, their commerce and wealth, are every year increasing the numbers whose existence must be one of hopeless want and deepest depravity?

We read of this *distant* poverty and crime; and we too easily forget them, as if, in these excesses, they would always be as distant from us as they now are. But where and in what is our security? Are we in no danger of having among ourselves a population as poor, as criminal, as that of Europe? This is a question of great national importance, and of immediate and peculiar concern to the inhabitants of our cities. Let us inquire what are the causes of the tendencies of cities to the growth of poverty and crime.

The fact of this tendency of cities needs no proof. Very different views, however, are taken of its causes. Never shall we obtain the remedy until we get at the deepest and most influential of the causes.

In presenting to Parliament the statements we have quoted from him, Mr. Peel thought it his duty to give his views of the causes of the "frightful evil" presented.

These causes he considered to be:—

1st. "The increased mechanical ingenuity of the age, —those very mechanical improvements which are the source of the prosperity of the country; and, 2d, the unsatisfactory state of the parochial police." The Duke of Wellington looked not for causes beyond the "deficiency of the police." Another member assigned a third cause; to wit, "the low rate of laborers' wages, and the want of sufficient employment for laborers." To me it is amazing that great statesmen and great

political economists, in treating of the greatest interest of the social condition of man, can thus confine their views to the very surface of society. That these are causes of the want and crime referred to is true. But are they *the causes* which primarily demand the attention even of statesmen and political economists? Are they the most active or the most powerful causes at work? I think I see these causes in the spirit of monopoly, in the luxury and extravagance and profligacy of the more favored classes, and in the low estimation in which the more affluent hold and have ever held the humbler of their fellow-beings. I think I see them in the whole history of the legislation of England respecting the poor and criminals; in the vestry and judicial proceedings respecting them; and in the records of the police courts, of the throngs of those sent to the prisons, — sinks, perhaps, of deeper iniquity than those from which the culprits were taken. I see them also in the multitude of beggars who are sent to bridewell for a week, if perchance their settlement be not in the metropolis. From bridewell they are carted to their settlements in the country. And as every other parish is equally disposed to be rid of them as those from which they are sent, they are left to go where they will. A very large proportion of them, therefore, find their way back to the metropolis even before the officer who conveyed them away has returned there. Thus they run the circle, hundreds dropping off, the victims of their vices, — their places being supplied by increasing numbers; and, if we take into our account the statement of Colquhoun that there are in Great Britain and Ireland — that is, there were twenty-five years ago [written in 1830] — no less than

1,750,000 of the population of the age to be instructed who are growing up to adult age in the grossest ignorance, we shall have before us causes fully equal to this increased crime and wretchedness. . . .

The question arises, What are the causes of a similar tendency to growth of poverty and crime in our own cities? I can speak but generally of them.

I observe, then, first, that one cause, and a considerable one, of the exposure of cities everywhere to this evil is, that here society is divided into classes, and separated by broad and distinct lines as it is not in the country. In the country, every individual has a sufficient prominence to be known to almost every other individual in his neighborhood. The poor labor for and are seen by the richest around them; their character and habits are well known to each other. In the city, on the other hand, men are not only divided and separated by the very great inequalities of their condition in respect to property, by the diversity of their interests, and by their various inclinations and tastes, but by the very fact of the extent of their numbers. Every individual in the different classes may for a long time, and perhaps through life, be unknown to many even of the class to which they belong. There is, therefore, proportionally in the vicious a hope of escape in open shame and crime, and, for those who are inclined to crime, a hope of safety from detection in it; and, as the differences of condition are here more real and sensible, and the sympathies of the classes with each other far weaker, the suffering of virtuous poverty will not only be often far greater, but greater, too, will be the recklessness of vicious poverty.

Again, as the grand field for the exercise of the arts,

for the speculations of commerce, for the enterprise of the merchant, for the talents of those of every description who live by the resources of their minds, and for the laborer who has no resource but his physical strength, cities are centres of attraction. Here men are drawn both to accumulate and to expend fortunes, to attract notice, and to live in luxury upon the credit they may obtain. Here come large numbers hoping to find that demand for their labors which they could not find in smaller places. And here, of course, from the fluctuation of business, there is a constant tendency to a supply beyond the demand, — a constant tendency to an accession of numbers, a considerable part of whom, even if they were all disposed to be honest, can look to nothing better than a condition of honest poverty, because their service is not wanted, and who, if they are without principle, will fall into dishonesty and crime. Here, also, will come the idle, the intemperate, and the profligate, — some from a desire to find associates, some that they may live more easily by beggary than they can at home; some for better opportunities of depredations upon the property of others; and some that they may escape notice in the crowd, and secure a better hiding-place than a country neighborhood can afford.

Another cause of this tendency is the facilities which cities, in proportion to the number of their inhabitants, furnish to the indulgence of the grossest appetites and passions. (*The great and peculiar curse of our land, indeed, is the facility with which ardent spirits can be obtained, even by the poorest among us.*) Amidst the tens and hundreds of thousands brought together here, comprehending every diversity of character, there will be found those ready to cater to every base inclination

while there are any to indulge such inclinations and to support those who will pander to them. The smallest village may have its tavern and its dram-shop; but the screened soda-shop, the gambling-house, the theatre as it has been, and the brothel, can be profitable establishments only where there is a very considerable extent of profligacy and moral corruption. Nor can these establishments exist and be patronized by the rich without extending their deadly influence to the poor.

Again; a large amount is annually added to the poverty and crime of our country, and especially of the cities, by the large mass of foreign poor which have been thrown upon us.

I will state one other cause of this tendency; namely, the neglect of the education of the children of the poor. . . .

How, then, are these tendencies to be prevented, — how are the evils to be remedied?

The instruments and means are various. I would not undervalue one of them. Our ministers and our churches, our daily and our Sunday schools are important agents in this work; our winter evening lectures also. The savings bank is an instrument of great moral power; and much is to be done by legislative and municipal regulations. But a power is wanted beyond and above all these. I refer to the power of an enlightened and wisely extended public sentiment on the great subjects which concern the well-being of the individual, and the order, security, and happiness of society. What, indeed, would be the best laws and institutions were public sentiment turned against them, or should want the energy necessary to support them? Or, should laws and municipal regula-

tions ever run in advance of public sentiment, — and this will not often be the case, — how ineffectually will they be administered and executed. This is a truth which must be understood in its great bearings, and acted upon, if we would either have legislation what it should be, or secure the benefits to be derived from wise and good laws.

By an enlightened public sentiment, then, I mean a public sentiment which receives its light and its direction at once from the greatest essential principles of human nature and of *Christian* truth and duty, — I mean a public sentiment which regards man universally, be he high or low, rich or poor, as an intellectual, moral, and immortal being, which implies in those who possess it a just sense of the worth and excellence of their own nature as children of God, and a corresponding sense of the worth and excellence of the nature of every individual of their race, — I mean a public sentiment respecting virtue as the supreme good of every intelligent and moral nature, and respecting talents and all means of promoting good and happiness as responsibilities, — I mean a sentiment that regards the rights of others as dearly as its own, which honors and supports virtue wherever it be found; and, while it makes no compromise with that which it believes to be morally evil, will yet feel that the transgressor is a *brother*, who is to be *reclaimed*, and not cast off and destroyed, or left to find his destruction in his sin, — I mean that sentiment which, while it comprehends the most impartial justice, equally comprehends the most enlarged sympathy and benevolence of the religion of Jesus Christ. Let this be the public sentiment of a city and of a state, and institutions for the advancement of

knowledge and piety, and virtue will be supported. And then laws will be what they should be, and they will be obeyed. What, indeed, are laws but the authorized declarations of public sentiment? They will therefore be conformed to the demands of society; or, in other words, they will be conformed to the prevailing state of character among the people for whom they were made. Public opinion will be their dictator, and to public opinion will legislators look for their sanction.

What is wanted to call forth public sentiment, and to give it a right direction, in regard to persons and places which ought to be held infamous? I answer, public sentiment must be enlightened upon these subjects. The truth must be told, and told plainly. Let things be called by their right names, and the causes and instruments of the evils be exposed in their true character; and let it be known that there are those who feel deeply the evils which ought not to be tolerated. A report of a single case of yellow fever or of plague in our city would excite universal alarm, and the infected house would be barricaded and shunned as the very gate of death, or, if it were thought the public security required it, it would be razed to the ground. And, in proportion as public sentiment can be made Christian in respect to the dram-shop, by whatever name it may be called, and by whomsoever it may be frequented, and the gambling-house and the brothel, these moral nuisances will be felt to be objects which call for a general and uncompromising determination for their removal. . . .

The doctrine has too easily been admitted and too long acted upon without dispute, *that there must be*

everywhere, and especially in cities, a certain amount of poverty and crime. This doctrine, as it is commonly received, is as false as it is vague, and as disgraceful to those who support it as it is ruinous to those whom it wickedly leaves to the evils from which they might be rescued. It is continually doing more to paralyze efforts in the highest departments of human benevolence, and more to repress and extinguish the best sympathies of our nature, than any other cause that has restrained the enlightened and virtuous in their endeavors for the good of their fellow-men. A very few years have passed since it was said that no hope could be more vain than that of arresting the progress of intemperance. And yet, what has been done in this work? Not half the quantity of ardent spirits is probably now consumed in New England that was consumed here five or six years ago. And how has this change been accomplished? By an excise on spirits, or by inflicting fine or imprisonment upon those who abused them? No. But alone by enlightening and quickening public sentiment concerning the evil, and by a determined exertion to do what might be done to remedy it. The check which has been given to this evil has not, indeed, been so great in the cities as in the country. But something has been done. We have not yet learned the true mode of giving a strong moral impulse to the masses of men who are brought together into cities; and there is also the withering feeling, which is too common, of the impracticability of acting strongly upon those masses. But if it be true that there is this impracticability, it is evidence that in congregating into cities we are violating a plain purpose of the moral providence of God. If it be true, then every

philanthropist and every Christian, at whatever sacrifice of personal and worldly interest, is bound to separate himself from cities, any further than he may be called to them to do what he can to check their growth. Who can deliberately admit this doctrine, and not acknowledge that the greatest benefactor to a country would be the man who should be the instrument of breaking up every city in it and scattering its inhabitants? Let cities be left to grow up under the unchecked influence of mere municipal ordinances and mere worldly morality, and they will become "*great sores*."¹ I believe, indeed, that they *may* be made the centres as well of the purest and highest religious and moral influences as of the highest intellectual culture, and of the greatest advancement of the arts and sciences, and that the most vigorous growth of all the Christian virtues may be made a characteristic of cities. But this, of course, will not be, and cannot be, while the unchristian state of our sentiment respecting human duties and interests continues to be what it has been.

With some, as I well know, even a reference to an unchristian state of public opinion as a cause of the peculiar moral danger of cities, and to Christianity as the only redeeming power, exposes him who makes it to any designation but that of a practical man; while by others the suggestion may be received without disapprobation, but, at the same time, without any disposition to add to his contribution to this most important of the means of public happiness. . . .

I add, that the rich know not how much they lose, even of means of their own personal happiness, by the distance at which they too generally live from the

¹ Mr. Jefferson's phrase.

poor, by the absence of that sympathy which, principally through their own fault, the employed would otherwise feel with his employer, and by the neglect of the frequent opportunities which are occurring by an intimate and kind intercourse with a few poor families, of performing for them, at very small cost, some of the most grateful offices of life. Let those whom God has blessed with abundance feel for the poor as Christianity intends they should feel. Let this sentiment be extended, and the great question in regard to poverty or crime will not be, What is the pecuniary appropriation to be required? but, alone, How is the greatest ultimate good to be attained?

CHAPTER VI.

OF INTELLECTUALLY AND MORALLY NEGLECTED CHILDREN.

My wish is, in this Report, to attempt to show that the most active and extensively influential of the causes to which abject poverty and crime are to be ascribed lie not only near and under the very eye of every individual, but that they are, above all others, within the influence of the means which God has given us of securing the order and of advancing the improvement and happiness of society. The causes to which I refer consist of those circumstances the direct tendency of which is to vitiate and to corrupt the young. I know full well that there are instances of crime, and of poverty growing out of crime, the particular causes of which were not developed during the season of youth. But I am quite satisfied that far the greatest part of the abject poverty and of the recklessness in crime which people either our prisons or almshouses, or which is seen in our streets, or which gives insecurity to property and happiness in society, may be followed back to causes which showed themselves most distinctly within the first fifteen or twenty years of life, and generally at a much earlier season; to causes which, at that period, are within our power, as those which lie beyond these limits are not. It is true, and ought to be known, and to be reiterated till it shall be felt, that if we were faith-

ful to the means we have of healing the waters of society *here*, the amount of abject want and of unprincipled and hopeless obduracy which would remain would be so small that we might dispense with more than half of our prisons and almshouses, and yet find ample accommodations in those we should still have for all the paupers and criminals for whom it would be necessary to make these provisions. The inquiry, then, is of paramount interest, What are those circumstances the tendency of which upon the young who are brought under their influences almost necessarily is their immediate moral corruption and their subsequent poverty and crime? In answering this inquiry, I must go into some minuteness of detail.

I reply, the *first* is, the want of an education, both intellectual and moral, which would dispose and qualify them for apprenticeship at some useful employment. The *second* is, the want of regular and useful employment from the age of fourteen or fifteen to that of twenty-one years. This is an evil which extends to many who have received all the advantages for instruction which our schools could give them. And the *third* division of these circumstances consists of the temptations and facilities to intemperance, to dishonesty, and to corrupting passions and pleasures which are directly offered to the young, or which are most reprehensibly left in their way, by those who have the charge of them. The exposures are peculiar, in these respects, of the children under fourteen years old who are not in school; and of those from fourteen or fifteen to twenty-one years of age who have no regular and useful employment. But through the negligence or the evil example of employers or masters, they are many, and

great, too, even with respect to some who are apprenticed to useful occupations. Vague assertions on these subjects are of little use. We must appeal to facts.

I. Let me say a few words of those who are not receiving the education which is necessary to qualify them for apprenticeship at some useful employment.

We have so long been accustomed to think and to speak with exultation of our school system, that many are brought to believe it is quite perfect. And not only so. There are not a few who reason from ourselves in this respect to our whole country, and can hardly believe that there is an American citizen who cannot read or write. But in all this there is a very great mistake. Disguise it as we may, there are many native Americans who are as ignorant of letters even as the untaught of the older countries of the world. And if it were not so,—if every adult American could read and write, and if we could prove all the utterly illiterate among us to be foreigners, or the children of foreigners,—what consolation would there be in the thought, when threatened with or suffering under any public calamity which has been brought upon us by an ignorant population, that this part of our population consists only of foreigners, or of the descendants of foreigners? Is not our country equally the home of many ten thousand foreigners as of those who were born here?

[After giving a few statistics of his own time in regard to the number of children growing up without receiving the advantages of school education, he proceeds:]

I would neither make any overcharged statements nor press any facts to the support of a theory beyond

their obvious and unquestionable bearing. If, therefore, there be any error in the above stated numbers, I shall very gladly see it corrected. And should any one say that the number is great of those who can neither read nor write, and who yet have not fallen into crime, and that it is great also of those who, with the best education, have become paupers and criminals, I admit the facts. But they form exceptions, and not a rule. There is a very great difference in the natural dispositions and propensities of the young; and therefore in their liableness, if I may so express myself, to moral infection. Some are uncontaminated even after having lived long in the worst possible moral atmosphere; and some have even been made more resolutely virtuous by the daily spectacle of vicious example. Some, also, while surrounded by none but good influences, are hardly to be restrained from evil; and some, possessing the finest intellectual powers ever given to man, and reared with every possible outward advantage for their happy development, have debased those powers to the service of the lowest and most guilty passions of our nature, and have exhibited the spectacle of a ruin as much more painfully affecting than that of the most time-hallowed and once most magnificent temple of mere dead matter, as the immortal spirit destined for endless progress in knowledge and happiness is a greater work than a temple made by the hands of man. But these, also, are exceptions, and do not form a rule.

In looking at the questions, how far is a school education a security from pauperism and crime? and how far is a neglect of this education a cause of pauperism and crime? I would observe, first, that while this

neglect is a very important circumstance in the production of these evils, and a circumstance which must not be lost sight of, it yet never acts alone in regard to them. The child under fourteen years old who goes to no school is not, probably, in any useful employment; and he is, probably, with associates as idle as himself. If his parents are very poor, he will probably be sent out as a beggar; and every child who is a beggar, almost without exception, will become a vagrant, and probably a thief. Young as he is, he wants social excitement, and he must have it; and if that be not given to him by which he may be profited, he will probably seek and enjoy that by which he will be injured. The causes which lead to the neglect of his intellectual, in almost all cases, will lead also to the neglect of his moral education. It is, indeed, very seldom found, in regard to parents or the guardians of children, that they disregard the intellectual faculties of the young who are in their charge, while the moral nature is an object of any strong solicitude. Nor is this all. The children who are left by their parents to grow up in ignorance are often made to minister to the idleness and intemperance of these parents; and they learn by the same means to procure their own vicious gratifications. These poor children, also, are seldom taken to any church; and Sunday, to many of them, is the most corrupting day of the week. On the other hand, the children who are *in* school are generally attaining there some moral as well as intellectual good. They are also far better taught at home than are those who are not in any school. They generally go to church with their parents; and probably, likewise, receive the instructions of a Sunday school. They associate, too, with lads of their

own age, who are of a far higher order of character than the ignorant and the idle. And as long as they are at school, they have in view, as the others have not, an apprenticeship at some useful occupation, by which they may honorably provide for their own wants, and perhaps be the support of the age of their parents. Bring together these considerations, and they give no small importance to a school education as a means of saving from pauperism and crime.

And in reply to those who would leave a certain number uneducated that they may thus be fitted and disposed for the lowest offices of life, I could observe, secondly, that if every child in our country, and in the world, between the ages of four and fourteen, were in a school; and if every child living and to be born should be kept from four to fourteen years of age in as good schools as could be established, and should receive as much instruction as could be given to them, it would be found that in the diversity God has made of human capacities, and in the wonderfully diversified dispositions of human nature, there is an ample provision for the whole number which is wanted for every service, however laborious, or even however revolting to others it might be, which is required for the comfort or the order or the ornament of social life. Educate the young as extensively and as perfectly as you can, and you can no more produce an equality of intellectual power, or of a spirit of enterprise which tends to an equality of wealth, than you can, by education, produce a condition of the human system in which it shall not need food for its support. Here, then, I rest the claims of a school education, and the question of its influence in preventing poverty and crime.

I. The second of these circumstances is, the want of regular and useful employment from the age of fourteen or fifteen to that of twenty-one years. This, I have said, is an evil which extends to many who have received all the advantages for instruction which our schools could give them.

In the first place, however, let us look at the children who have not been in any school, and at the truants from our schools who have been struck from the list of the masters. They have now passed the age of fourteen years; and they are not only disqualified for the employments in which a knowledge of reading, writing, and the first rules of arithmetic is required, but they are even more indisposed to any employment which will abridge their liberty, or restrain them from their accustomed pursuits and indulgences. They wish still to live as they have hitherto lived. They revolt from the thought of the authority of a master. And they are as closely bound to each other by a union of tastes and objects and gratifications and habits as they are widely separated in these respects from the most virtuous of their age. Some of them are the children of parents who have no sensibility to the evil of their condition; who have themselves hardly known a better condition; and whose example alone might have corrupted children who were even strongly inclined to obedience and virtue. Others are the children of better, but of inefficient parents; of parents who do not, and think they cannot, control the waywardness which refuses submission to rule; and others, having lost their parents, have either fallen into the charge of those who have cared little for them or have been left wholly to their own guidance. I suppose that we have as

small a number of children of this class among us as are to be found in any city of the world with an equal population. But we have a sufficient number to produce a considerable amount of abject pauperism and crime. And, I ask, can it be otherwise than that a large proportion of the children who are brought up to twenty-one years of age ignorant, or almost wholly ignorant, of letters; free from all moral influence at home, or habitually and successfully resisting all moral influence there; who are daily associating for idle or vicious communion with each other; for the attainment of some vicious pleasure, or the accomplishment of some vicious purpose; who shrink from any labor beyond that which is demanded to obtain the means for some personal and perhaps vicious end; who have learned, within the first twelve years of life, to love ardent spirits, though, perhaps, before that time they may not have been *accustomed* to drink them; who, even before that age, have acquired some skill in petty thieving, and are proficient in profaneness and deception; — is it in the nature of things that children thus living, or at least that far the greater number of them should not, when they are men, become paupers and criminals? I have not mentioned the female children of this class. But their exposures to moral ruin are scarcely less than those of boys. Let the number, then, of these children in our cities, in our large towns and our villages, be correctly ascertained, and something will be done in the work of accounting for the extent of pauperism and crime. And let an inquisition be made of the numbers who have passed from this class of children to our prisons and almshouses, and the necessity will be wholly superseded of a long argument either respect-

ing the exposures of these children or the true interest of the intelligent and virtuous of society concerning them.

Allow me to remark that, while I would not ascribe the licentiousness, the dishonesty, or the crime of any character in society to any single cause,—for the causes of these evils are many and sometimes very complicated,—the fact of the very peculiar connection between intemperance and abject pauperism and crime, which has been established beyond contradiction by the investigations which have been made of this subject within the last five years, demands the very serious attention not only of the statesman and the philanthropist, but of every parent and of every individual who is interested in the well-being of the community in which he lives. Among the various methods taken by the temperance societies in our country to affect the public mind in regard to the enormous evils which have grown out of the cheapness of ardent spirits, the various means adopted to make them as fascinating as possible, and the very reprehensible system of licensing their sale in the form of drams, to an extent to meet the demands of every one who is disposed or may be decoyed to purchase them, one has been an extensive and careful examination of the records of prisons and almshouses, for the very purpose of learning what proportion of the inmates of those institutions have been brought to pauperism and crime by intemperance. These examinations have brought to light the facts,—before, indeed, supposed, but now proved,—first, that the instance can hardly be found of a convict who at the time of his conviction was not intemperate; and, secondly, that three-fourths of the inmates of alms-

houses were brought to the abjectness and degradation in which they are seen there by intemperance. In view of these facts, then, I take the ground that, whatever goes to prove that intemperance is a cause, and a prevailing cause, of pauperism and crime, goes equally to prove, first, that every intemperate lad or young man, unless recovered from his intemperance, will probably fall into pauperism or crime, or into both; and, secondly, that the temptations and the facilities to an early love and use of ardent spirits are direct means, to the extent to which they operate, of producing paupers and criminals in the city, in the commonwealth, and in our country. The facts here assumed will not be doubted by any one who has attended to the evidence on which they rest. Nor will any one who admits the facts reject the inferences I have made from them. The question, then, arises, how far may the intemperance, and consequently the pauperism and crime of manhood, and therefore the numbers in our prisons and almshouses, be fairly traced back to the temptations and facilities to intemperance which are placed in the way of children, and to the love and use of ardent spirits which are acquired by them, both in the city and in the country?

I begin with referring you to the exposures of children who are under fourteen or fifteen years of age. Let us first look at some of them in the poorer, and then at some in the more prosperous classes.

The impression, I am aware, soon passes from the mind of any description of scenes which we have ourselves never witnessed. And yet, till we can persuade others by personal observation to acquaint themselves with the scenes of vice and misery which are around

them, and from an actual knowledge of which they would learn their duties in regard to the vicious and miserable, as they cannot otherwise be learned, we must be content with bringing before them such poor descriptions as we may of the evils which ought to excite a universal sympathy and concern; and which, if cared for as they should be, might, to a great extent, be remedied. How often have I wished that I could bring those who have a strong general interest in the well-being of society, and whose opinions exert a most important influence where I have no power, into the families of poor and intemperate parents. There let them see in what wretched rooms these unhappy beings are sometimes lodged; rooms as cold as wide chinks and broken windows can make them; the poor, broken, and scanty furniture; and the bed not unfrequently lying upon the floor, and without a bedstead, and, it may be, consisting only of straw or of shavings. There let them see to what deep degradation our nature may be brought through abandonment to the sin in which these parents are living. Will it be said that parents in this condition are beyond the reach even of hope? I think otherwise; for no one is to be considered or treated as beyond hope while God shall spare him. But I am not now pleading for these parents. I would direct attention to *their children*. Here are boys and girls with bodies which are seldom washed, and which are covered at best with filthy and tattered garments. These children probably go to no school; and they learn nothing but from the example of those with whom they associate. They are unaccustomed to any regularity in their meals, and they look for their food perhaps almost as much from home as at home. They

are now, it may be, caressed with the extravagance of intoxicated affection, and now beaten with the extravagance of intoxicated anger. They are every day deceived by their parents, and they every day in turn deceive them. At one hour they are kept at work to procure fuel, or perform some other service; and in the next, are allowed to go where they will, and to do what they will. They hear profaneness every day, and see intemperance, and witness parental contests; and are daily the companions of those who live amidst the same scenes, and are forming under the same influences. They are allowed, also, not only to drain the cup which an intemperate father or mother has not quite emptied, but their portion of it is sometimes given to them. If they are advised or encouraged by these guardians of their morals, it is to be more wary, more cunning, more artful. Not unfrequently, also, do these children fall into the service of the lowest of the profligate. They are ready for any guilty service within their power, by which they may earn any thing; and they have not an association with wrong, but the fear of detection and of punishment. What, then, is to be expected from these children? Is it surprising that very early they become greatly depraved? I have spoken, indeed, of the most degraded parents and of the most exposed children. But there are more of these parents and children, even in our greatly favored city, than would be suspected by those who know those among whom they live only as they pass them in the street. And there are children of other poor parents, especially of poor widows, who, though they have in this respect no evil example at home, are yet under but a feeble parental restraint, and are associates and

learners of the language, and sharers of the occupations and the pleasures, of those whose very homes are schools of the grossest depravity. I pray, then, that it may be known and thought worthy of remembrance, that we have children of this class in our city, who, if neglected as they now are, as certainly as they live will become paupers and criminals. And on whom will fall the heaviest responsibility for their guilt and misery, but on those to whom God has given all the means of saving them, and who fail to use these means for the purposes for which he gave them?

Again. There is a higher class of parents who would shrink from a dependence upon charity, but who are hardly less negligent of the moral condition of their children. I refer to parents some of whom are far from indifferent respecting the education of their children for an apprenticeship, and for the means of self-support, as far as the education of the school is concerned; but, from ignorance or inefficiency, or the want of a strong moral sensibility, or if they have religious and moral feeling, yet, from a want of judgment, are unable to control, or, at least, do not control their wayward children.

There is a spring of pauperism and crime which presents itself in this connection, at which I have not even glanced, only because I could not do any justice to my views of it in the cursory notice which is all that I could here take of it. I refer to the influence of the habits and the example of the more prospered classes not only upon the young in those classes but upon the dispositions and tastes and habits of the whole mass of society. This, I am aware, is a very delicate and difficult topic. It is, however, a plain matter of fact, that

where, as with us, there is no law of entail, property seldom descends beyond the third generation of a family. And why? Obviously, in part, because the expectation of inheriting property indisposes and disqualifies the young for regular, self-denying, and persevering labor; and in part from the consequent vanity, extravagance, and sensual indulgence for which an ample inheritance for all the purposes of virtue, usefulness, and happiness is found to be utterly inadequate. Let any one look about him and ask, who were the grandfathers and the fathers of our rich men? and who were the fathers and grandparents of our paupers and criminals? and he will find that it is not poverty alone which produces poverty. And let any one consider till he understands the descending influence of example, and then look at the tendency of much of the example which is continually wending its way from the high grounds to the very lowest depths of social life, and he will need no labored argument to convince him that the rich are in truth accountable for much of the abject poverty of the world; and that right sentiments, Christian sentiments of property, and of human relations and duties among the rich, are to be among the most effectual of the means of salvation from pauperism and crime.

Is it asked, what are the remedies of these evils, and what the means for their prevention? I answer, that they are not far off; nor, if we were truly disposed to avail ourselves of them, difficult to be obtained. But little thought or care is yet given to these subjects compared with the greatness of the interests which are comprehended in them. Public sentiment is yet vague respecting the causes of pauperism and crime; and new

and more efficient measures should be taken to bring these subjects, in all their relations and bearings, before the whole body of our citizens. I would say, therefore, in the first place, that if a few of our most intelligent and philanthropic men, men of leisure and influence, would unite for the study of these subjects; not merely or principally by consulting books, but by an extensive personal communication with the poor and with criminals; if these gentlemen would meet frequently—for example, one evening in every week—to bring together their facts and to compare their opinions; if they would occasionally publish these facts and opinions with the sanction of their names; and, when they shall see clearly what are the demands of justice, of humanity, and of religion, if they would combine their efforts, now for the suppression of one and now of another of the springs of evil, and now to obtain one and now another establishment for the salvation and greatest happiness of those who must otherwise be irretrievably lost to all the higher purposes of their being, a great and glorious reform might soon be effected in our city. Am I told that the plan of such an association is impracticable? I ask, why? And I appeal to the sober judgment of the intelligent, the affluent, and influential. Is a greater service here demanded than is due from those whom God has greatly blessed to the poor and degraded and miserable around us? Is it more than God will require from those to whom he has given the means of saving and blessing hundreds, and perhaps thousands, of their race? There is no service on earth from which a higher good will result to those who engage in it. A few judicious and energetic minds, combined and resolved to accomplish all which they

may for the suppression of pauperism and crime, would accumulate for themselves, in this work, a better treasure than all their wealth, let them be as rich as they may; and, in a few years, might do more for the advancement of society than, without these services, would probably be accomplished in half a century.

[Dr. Tuckerman proceeds to mention some means and measures to remedy and to prevent the evils referred to. In addition to reforms which he inaugurated, he recommended many other measures which have since been adopted, and have proved of the greatest good to the community.

He recommends the appointment of a State Superintendent of public schools, which we have in the Secretary of the Board of Education.

He saw the wisdom of having some officer appointed in cities to do the work now done by our truant officers. He was strongly impressed with the fact of the necessity of making some provision for the instruction of those children and youth who, from one and another cause, could not well attend the common public schools. This want is met, at present, in large degree by our "evening schools," "school for licensed minors," and by the State primary school.

He also recognized the need, and urged the employment by the State, of what he terms a "*municipal officer*," who shall be empowered to do the very work that is now done by the "State Visiting Agent of the Board of State Charities," an office established by the State of Massachusetts in 1869 (the only instance of the kind among all the States). The importance and usefulness of this office has been clearly illustrated

during the five years of its work, — as is well shown in the annual reports of the agent, Mr. Gardiner Tufts, who has had charge of the work with a sufficient staff of assistants since it was inaugurated.

So long ago as 1830 Dr. T. wrote :]

Here, then, are some hundreds of children who are in various ways to be provided for. And, I ask, is not the supervision of these children a charge sufficiently extensive, and requiring sufficient care and labor, for any one individual, whatever may be the capacity and suitableness for the service which he may bring to it? Let me say, then, there should be *a municipal officer*, call him by what name you will, whose special duty it should be to look to the idle, vagrant, and vicious children of the city. This, I say, should be his specific duty; for within this limitation he could have the authority of law to support him. And if this officer should do nothing more than avail himself of the power which existing laws will already give him to prosecute, and thus to bring to the judgment of a court the children who ought to be sent to the school of reformation, he would perform at once for these children, for their parents, and for the public, an invaluable service, — a service which alone would be a rich compensation for the expense at which it must be maintained. But though this might be the only authority with which he could be legally invested in regard to the classes of children of whom I have spoken, the work of thus disposing of these children would constitute but a single branch of the service he might render. Let him be a man of intelligence and energy, of sound judgment and of active kindness, — a man who under-

stands and feels what is to be lost by the moral ruin, and what is to be gained by the moral recovery, of a child. Let him take cognizance, as he should, of every child who shall be found out of school when he should be in school, and of every lad over fourteen years of age who is wandering through our streets without employment, and acquaint himself with the parents and friends of these children; and let him offer his assistance to children and to parents to obtain employment, especially in the country, for those who may be sent to farmers and mechanics there, and to restore to our schools the children who have left but who should be in them, and he will thus do as much for the prevention as, by the authority with which he might be invested by law, he could do for the remedy of evil. I have had some, though a limited, experience in each of these departments of service, and I know that very great good may be done in it. Let it be known that there is a public officer, whose business is the charge of lawless and profligate children, and the immediate effect will be a great and powerful restraint upon those whose dispositions and tendencies are to evil, but whose interests and pleasures are not yet so amalgamated with those of their vicious associates that they cannot be separated from them. Many will thus be induced to retrace their steps and to return to duty; and many will be kept from entering the paths the end of which they will perceive is disgrace and punishment.

It ought to be filled by one who will be respected and trusted in it, who will deserve and obtain the confidence of the parents whose children may fall under his charge, and by one who shall be capable of making full and satisfactory reports, both of what he shall learn upon

the subjects connected with his office and of his doings in it. It should not, therefore, be the great question in view of this office, how can it be filled most cheaply? In my judgment, allow me to say, the question of well or ill paved streets, or of disordered or well-conditioned sewers, or even of wise or unwise ordinances and establishments for the preservation of the health of the city, is of minor interest, — of secondary importance.

[His remarks and suggestions in regard to the character and management of reformatory institutions for the young may be cited here. In one place he says:]

First. What is the great end and aim of this institution; and how should it be viewed and represented by us?

I answer, in the words of Mr. Sargeant, president of a similar institution in Philadelphia: "It is, in the strictest sense of the terms, a work of charity and mercy. Whatever else may be contemplated — and certainly extensive public advantages are to be expected from it — is only incidental. This school presents no vindictive or reproachful aspects. It threatens no humiliating recollections of the past. It holds out no degrading denunciations for the future." It is, indeed, a school for those who have greatly violated duty, and are to be *reformed*. But though its inmates are sent to it by public authority, and can be discharged from it only by the authority of those who sent them there; and though in leaving the institution they are to pass into the charge of others who will be accountable for them till they shall be of lawful age to those from whose immediate watchfulness and care they have received them, still it is to be regarded *not as a prison*,

but *as a school*. Mr. Wells considers every boy who enters his school as *reclaimable*. His object is to give to each one an intellectual, a physical, and a moral education, which will prepare him to be a respectable and a respected member of society,—a useful and happy man. And most encouraging is the promise of this institution. Let not the children, then, who are sent there, unnecessarily be made to feel that they have the brand of crime upon their foreheads, and that they are to be recognized as having been criminals. Many of them are not morally worse than are other boys who will not be sent there, and who, through the faithful guardianship of judicious and kind friends, into whose charge it has been their privilege to fall, will be recovered to virtue, and loved and valued as if they had never fallen from it. To treat them as if they are reclaimable, and will unquestionably be reclaimed, will be one of the most effectual means of securing their salvation.

Secondly. Who are the proper subjects of this institution; and how are they to be sent to it and retained in it?

I would reply, that, except under very extraordinary circumstances, no one should be admitted into this school while he is under ten years of age; but, with certain restrictions, it should be open to any one under twenty years old. The extreme age to which any one should be sent there, with a view to apprenticeship in the country, should perhaps be fifteen years, with the opportunity of remaining a year in preparation for this apprenticeship. But if any shall be sent who are over sixteen years of age, it should be for discipline and instruction preparatory to a whaling voyage. And unspeakably great would be the gain to the individual

and to the community if, instead of sending any minor either to our jail or house of correction, where a confinement of a fortnight or three weeks only will almost certainly complete and insure his moral ruin, our courts were required to sentence every criminal who is brought before them under lawful age, unless he shall be sent to the State prison, to the school of reformation, there to remain only till a voyage can be obtained for him, which will remove him for one or perhaps two years from the scenes and associates of the iniquity from which he has been taken. I know not indeed how public attention is to be aroused to a sense of the magnitude and enormity of the evils of our two county prisons. There is a strange indifference, a most lamentable apathy among us, in regard to these institutions, the influences of which are almost exclusively of the worst character. They are almost as certainly fatal to every remaining principle of virtue in the young who are sent to them as would be a pest-house to him who is predisposed to small-pox or to plague. But I will not here dwell upon them, especially as but a brief space remains which I can occupy in this Report.

I have spoken of the ages within which I think members should be admitted into the school. In regard to character, I would say that it should be a school not for those only who have fallen into crime, but for those also of whom there is a moral certainty that if left to themselves they will soon become criminals. I would not indeed propose any encroachment upon the rights of parents, or upon the proper liberty of children. But applications have been made to me by parents to obtain a place for their children in this school, because these children were wholly beyond their control and were in

the way to destruction, while yet they had committed no offence cognizable by the laws. To such parents I would give the privilege of committing their children to the charge of this institution. But in cases of this kind, as well as in many others, I would save parents and friends from the painful necessity of a prosecution of children in the police court. Let it be that there are cases in which a trial in open court is rightfully to be required and insisted upon. All I contend for is, that there are others in which it is neither necessary nor expedient, and that it is expedient, and will save from much suffering, and will conduce to no evil, if a more private trial may be had, with the decisions of which all the parties concerned may be entirely satisfied.

[Again, he quotes with great approval from Rev. Mr. Wells, Superintendent of the Reform School, as follows:]

“Most people imagine, when they see or hear of bad boys, that they are a worse kind of boys,—worse by nature than others. If my observation be of any value on this subject, it is not so; for though at first there be strong sproutings of evil principle and passion to be lopped off, and rank weeds of sin to be rooted up, yet when this is done we find here as good a stock and as rich a soil as in other cases. Some of our boys have been without parents to guide them; the parents of others were unworthy of the name; the parents of some have wished, but knew not how, to restrain their children; and some knew not how to be kind, without the utmost weakness of indulgence, or to be strict, without being severe. These boys fell into the company of idlers,

more wicked than themselves, became wild, lawless, and profane, were attracted to the theatre, and led to petty thefts to obtain the amusement to be found there, and were rapidly passing from sin to sin, in the way to irretrievable ruin. But however bad a boy may be, he can always be reformed while he is under fifteen years old, and very often after that age; and he who has been reckoned and treated as if incapable of any thing like honesty and honor may be made worthy of the most entire confidence. We have sent our boys to the city more than three hundred times, and only three have refused to return regularly. Indeed they oftener return before than after the appointed hour. We send them out on business of importance, and commit to them money and other property, and they have never abused the trust we have thus placed in them. We commit to them keys of the utmost value to us, and but in one instance was there a dishonorable advantage taken; and then it was soon repented of, and a voluntary return to duty followed. Thus, sir, we live together as a family of brethren, cheerful, happy, confiding, and, I trust, in a greater or less degree, pious. Thus our institution assumes the nature of *a school of moral discipline.*"

There is yet another means of arresting and of suppressing these great evils which I name the last, because, while it is the first in importance, it seems to be the hardest to be brought to application. Allow me, in a few words, to explain myself upon this subject.

We live in a very benevolent community. But Christianity requires a far higher benevolence than that of giving money. Its aim is to unite men as a family of brothers. Whatever may be our property, our intelli-

gence, our office, or our titles, Christianity requires us to recognize the poor beggar and the convicted criminal as the children of our Father, and possessors of a common nature with ourselves. They have fallen — at least tens of thousands of them fallen — under circumstances in which if we had ourselves been we might have sunk as low as they are. And from whence arose those circumstances? From the fault of the individuals suffering under them? Sometimes, without doubt. But I have referred to circumstances, and I might have referred to many more, which, though not within the control of the individuals who are brought by them to abjectness and crime, may be controlled and entirely changed by others, and which, brought under Christian influences, would save thousands from degradation and wretchedness. This view of the condition of society, and of Christian duties with respect to it, demands an attention which has never yet been given to it. Men have so long been told that poverty and crime are unfathomable gulfs, that their springs, or the causes producing them, are beyond human power, and that to a great extent they are alike necessary and irremediable evils, that even by multitudes of the wise and good nothing is deemed more chimerical, more a mere dream of enthusiasm, than a proposition to lay open the causes of these evils and the means by which far the largest amount of them may be remedied or prevented. And yet I am quite as sure that Christianity has given us these means, and that they are entirely sufficient for these ends, as I am of the existence of pauperism and crime. And I am quite as sure, too, that the errors of judgment and the mistakes in conduct into which not only legislators but many others have fallen on these

subjects, are attributable wholly to the fact that losing sight of Christian sentiments of human relations, dependencies, and obligations, they have looked alike for the causes and the cure of these evils where neither was to be found. The poor and criminals have generally been regarded only in their civil relations, as members of the body politic, who are to be affected only by political ordinances, and respecting whom the great question has been, how may they most effectually be coerced? or, what is the immediate cost which must be incurred for them? No error can be more vital than this. Sunk and degraded as we see them, even the lowest and the worst of these unhappy beings has a moral nature, and moral as well as physical powers and wants. Many, too, even of the lowest and the worst, by wise preventive measures, might have been saved from the degradation in which we see them. But you might as well attempt to raise them from their degradation by any other than moral means, as to meet the demands of their hunger by giving them air. Is it asked, what provisions are made by Christianity for the accomplishment of this great redemption? I answer, that they are to be found, not in the peculiar doctrines of any sect in Christendom, but, as I have already said, in a Christian sense of human relations,—of the connection into which Jesus Christ intended to bring man with man,—and of our responsibilities for all our means of usefulness. And is it asked, how is this mighty change to be wrought through means so simple? I answer, let all the intelligent, the affluent, and influential among us, who call themselves Christians, bring home to their own souls what Christ has taught upon the topics to which I have here referred, and there would

not then be a single poor or vicious family or individual among us which would not soon be brought within the sympathies of our religion. How many widows now suffering under the most distressing embarrassments and perplexities would then be comforted and encouraged, aided in the direction of their industry, and made comparatively happy? How many intemperate men and women, whose greatest excesses arise from the feeling that they are outcasts and uncared for, might be recovered to a sense of character and to virtue? How many children, both of virtuous and of vicious poor parents, under the restraints and encouragements of this new alliance, might be recalled from vagrancy and filial disobedience, placed and kept in our schools, in due time apprenticed at useful employments, and made respectable and happy members of society? How many filthy families might be made cleanly? How many families, now living in disorder and wretchedness, principally because they have no connection with any one who is not as low as themselves, might thus be taught and made to feel the blessings of order and foresight and providence for the time to come, and mutual respect and care for each other's happiness? How would the distresses of sickness among the poor be thus alleviated? From how many moral dangers, from which they know not how to escape, would they thus be rescued? And is there a man who has a disposition for this service who might not find leisure for it? Or is there a man who has a Christian feeling for his suffering brother who would not soon acquire a tact, if tact be required, for this service? This feeling of relationship, and this connection of the classes of society, is one of the most obvious of all the dictates of Christianity, and nothing

short of Christianity will ever bring about any great and permanent melioration of the condition of the poor, or any great and permanent means for the prevention of pauperism and crime.

One word more respecting the most important of all the claims of charity, and I have done. One word more in regard to the young who are peculiarly exposed to pauperism and crime. I have referred to these children in the city and the country. And let me appeal in their behalf to all in the city and the country who feel the ties of a common nature with those around them. I would call upon the prospered parents who are happy, and upon those who are unhappy, in their children. I would call upon the latter by their fears and by their sufferings, and upon the former by all which they enjoy in the immediate virtue and in the cheering hopes of their offspring, to look with sympathy and pity upon the exposed children of the poor, and now to select one, and now another, whom it shall be their aim and resolute endeavor to bring to instruction and to virtue, and thus to save from crime and ruin. I would call upon those who have but just started in the career of manhood, — upon young men who have but just begun to act for themselves, — each to signalize the beginning of his course — I mean not in the eye of the world, but of his own heart, and of his Maker — by recovering and preparing for a life of usefulness some child who is wringing his or her mother's heart with sorrow ; or some one who has not a parent to care for his or her condition, and who, without the interposition of a Christian friend, will soon perhaps be beyond the reach of this best exercise of human benevolence. No young man, who shall thus have been the instrument of saving a single

child, will through his life find his heart closed against the appeals of human suffering. I would call upon benevolent wives and mothers to take into their especial charge the exposed female children, who, if not soon brought under the influence of Christian judgment and affection, will soon be carried to the utmost extreme of human guilt, and obduracy, and debasement. I would call, too, with all possible respect, upon our civil authorities and upon the ministers of religion, both in the city and the country, and implore their care for those who, themselves ignorant, inexperienced, reckless, are pursuing the way to their own destruction, either because they have no one to guide them in the way in which they should go, or because they will not submit to parental control. There are such children in the country as well as in the city, and many such there will continue to be till, by a wider sense of Christian obligations in regard to them, and a consequent more active Christian care of them, a wiser and better generation shall be produced than is now upon the stage. And how, indeed, is this better generation to be produced but through this salvation of the young? And how is this salvation to be accomplished but through the sympathies and the energies of Christian benevolence in those who have but to resolve, with God's blessing, that it shall be attained, and it will be obtained? Here is a field for the labors of Christian charity, where good to an incalculable extent may be done at little or no expense but of time and of affection, and where a good may be achieved eternal at once to him or her who does it, and to him or her for whom it is done. In one word, I would say to all who wish to do good, whether they have much or little to give to those who are in want, to

all who would, if they could, be benefactors of their generation, determine and strive to save at least one truant, one vagrant, one vicious child, who, if no friendly, no Christian hand be stretched out for his or her deliverance, will fall into the abyss either of pauperism or of crime. Place and keep one child in school who would not otherwise be there. Be instead of a parent to one child, who would otherwise be without a protector. Be the coadjutor of at least one parent, who otherwise could not provide for the instruction of his or her children. Seek the satisfaction of seeing at least one child of the poor, who might otherwise have travelled to death in the ways of sin, walking through your guidance and care and encouragement in the paths of virtue, usefulness, and happiness. I know of no good of earth and time which is greater than this. And could I obtain the ear of those who have fortune and leisure, and all the means of being the greatest benefactors of their race, and who are yet doing little or nothing to improve the character and condition of those below them, I would say to them, you know not what means of personal good and happiness you are disregarding while you neglect your opportunities to save one and another of those who are perishing from the want of that very care and kindness which you might so easily extend to them. A recurrence to your agency in this unostentatious work of Christian benevolence will bring more gladness to your heart in the prospect of death than a remembrance of all your worldly success. And in the feeling that you have thus been instrumental to the salvation of one of these little ones, you will have a richer treasure when you shall stand before God than if, having lived only for yourself, you had possessed the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them.

CHAPTER VII.

THE PUBLIC RELIEF OF THE POOR.

[THE last semi-annual Report of Dr. Tuckerman, dated May 5, 1833, is substantially the same report which he addressed to the government of Massachusetts, on the pauper system of the State.

The committee to whom has been entrusted the editing of his reports for this edition has had some hesitation with regard to the use to be made of this very suggestive and valuable paper. A good many of its recommendations have already been adopted. The very great changes produced in England by the introduction of the new poor-law of 1834, and subsequent legislation, throws back his statements regarding England to be regarded, to some extent, only as the history of what was. And in the changes of forty-one years, especially in the arrival in America of hundreds of thousands of pauper emigrants, — virtually paupers when they came, — there have come up many conditions to which the reasoning of this essay is not at all applicable.

It was in the power of the committee, of course, to append to the report notes, from place to place, calling attention to the details of the changes which have thus, to some extent, invalidated or otherwise affected its conclusions. But, to borrow Judge Marshall's phrase, "the readers of a book like this are supposed to know

something," the editors certainly trust that the readers know a good deal of the subject involved. To make the notes complete would be to write the history of the poor-law administration in England and America for forty years, and that is certainly not the purpose of this book. To leave the notes incomplete would be to leave mistaken impressions on the minds of students not well-informed. We therefore publish the essay as we find it, simply asking the reader to remember all along that it was written in 1833, under circumstances of which the details have greatly changed.

The principles involved have not changed, and will never change. They are of critical and essential importance, and fundamental in every study of the subject. The central idea in the mind of the author deserves the most careful consideration in all the poor-law administration of our time.

It will be sufficient to say in general that the recommendation of this report, that all "out-door relief" should be left to the churches or to individual charity, and not attempted by the State, has never been adopted in Massachusetts nor in England. In Massachusetts a very severe "Law of Settlement" has restricted the town governments to the care of "their own poor," while the State government, by a large and well-arranged system of relief, cares for the poor of foreign blood in almshouses and hospitals, but undertakes very little "out-door relief" for them. They are technically called "State's poor." As nine-tenths of the poverty of the State belongs to this class, the recommendation that "out-door relief" should be left to personal charity has been largely carried out without the intention of anybody.

By a statute now before the General Court (May, 1874), the poor of foreign and of native blood are brought much more nearly to an equality of condition in the distribution of the charities of the towns. If this law passes, questions of "out-door relief" will become more important, and the discussion opened by Dr. Tuckerman in this report will probably be renewed. — E. E. H.]

On the 29th of February, 1832, a commission was appointed by our House of Representatives, "to prepare, digest, and report to the next legislature such modifications or changes in the pauper system of the Commonwealth as they may deem expedient; to appoint an agent to visit the principal establishments in the Commonwealth and elsewhere, for the public charge and support of the poor; to collect the statistics of these institutions, and to report the facts so obtained to the commissioners." I was one of the commissioners for these objects; and, at the request of the gentlemen associated with me, undertook the agency here referred to. By causes, however, which at the time I thought sufficient, the business of this agency was delayed till late in the last year. I was thus prevented from visiting many towns in the Commonwealth, which it had been my intention to visit for the above-named purposes, and had no leisure left to me for going beyond the bounds of our own State. Nor was this all. A report was to be made to the legislature at as early a day as possible in its last session; and a meeting of the commissioners, for an examination of the facts I had collected, could not be obtained till very near the time when their report must be presented.

On me, therefore, devolved as well the work of writing the report as of preparing the statements and tables which are appended to it. I refer to these circumstances, because I wish to avail myself of this opportunity of advertng again to some of the topics of that report. The measures proposed in it are referred to the next meeting of the legislature; and the report, with a bill for carrying these measures into operation, has been sent to every town in the Commonwealth, that the whole subject may be fairly brought before the whole people. It is a subject which has strong claims to very serious attention, for it involves great interests, both pecuniary and moral. Assured, however, as I am, of the correctness of the principles assumed in that report, and aware of the very defective manner in which they are there developed, I am glad of an opportunity to recur to them; and happy indeed shall I be, if I may thus do any thing to lead to better provisions than have yet been made among us for the charge and support of the poor, and for the remedy and prevention of pauperism and crime.

The leading principles to which I would call your attention are, that provisions for the poor are the proper objects not of legal enactment, but of Christian humanity and charity; — that this humanity and charity, if left unfettered by legal enactments, are sufficient for the security of the best provisions which can be made for all the classes of the indigent and necessitous; — and, that the result of interpositions of human laws to secure obedience to the moral law of charity ever has been and is an increased and even frightfully increasing extent of the beggary and crime which these laws have been intended to remedy. The first question

which here naturally arises is, what are the facts in the case? To facts, then, let us appeal.

The influence which poor-laws have exerted upon pauperism in England is, I well know, a question upon which her statesmen and philanthropists have held, and still hold, very different opinions. Nor is it to be doubted that other causes than poor-laws have alone produced an equal or a greater pauperism elsewhere. The pauperism of Ireland, for example, where there are no poor-laws, is even far more extensive and dreadful than that of England. But on this subject no fair comparison can be instituted between England and Ireland. With the exception of Poland, Ireland has been, and is, the most cruelly oppressed country in Christendom; and, in her oppressions, which I need not enumerate, we have causes sufficient to account for any conceivable want and degradation and wretchedness to which the population there or anywhere could be reduced. Not so is it with pauperism in England. There it has grown with the very progress of liberty; and, even under circumstances of the greatest prosperity in all the departments of human enterprise. There, too, it has called forth an unexampled voluntary assessment for its relief; and yet it has grown under the combined pressure of these measures for keeping it down. How, then, is this fact to be accounted for? Let me refer you for a moment to the history of English poor-laws, and I think you will be satisfied that they are, in part at least, accountable for the extent and miseries of English pauperism.

The earliest legislative act respecting the poor in England, of which I have seen any notice, is that of the twenty-third of Edward III., in 1349. By this act

“persons were declared guilty of an offence in relieving beggars able to work.” A very different measure followed in the twelfth of Richard II., 1388. It was then “directed that *the ordinary, or clergy of the district*, should receive collections, and distribute them to the impotent poor.” This is the first legal requisition for the support of the poor of which I have any knowledge; and “the practice” under it, it is said, “was, that if any person did not contribute charitable alms for the poor, he was summoned before the ordinary, who reprovéd him. If he was contumacious, he was summoned before the ecclesiastical court, and might be excommunicated; and then served with a bishop’s or chancery writ, which confiscated the whole of his effects, and imprisoned him for life.” How far this law secured an abundance of *alms* for the poor, I know not. That it could not have excited charity in the heart, or have led to the contribution of “charitable alms,” will, I think, be most manifest to every one. That it did not lessen the number, or improve the character of the poor, is intimated by the enactment “in 1495, the eleventh of Henry VII.,” by which “vagabonds were to be put into the stocks for three days and nights, and to be fed upon bread and water; and any person who should relieve them with food was to forfeit twelve pence (three shillings).” These vagabonds were the able-bodied beggars of the time; and the punishment here inflicted upon beggary implies that the evil had become a greatly increased one, and that it was thought to have demanded a very strong remedy. “Eight years afterwards these laws were confirmed.” But “in 1535,” a new principle was adopted. In that year three hundred and seventy-six of the smaller monas-

teries were suppressed by Henry VIII.; and others were confiscated by him in subsequent years. Many who had received relief or support in these institutions were thus compelled to seek for aid or for subsistence elsewhere. It was therefore "enacted that all governors of shires, cities, hundreds, hamlets, and parishes, should make provision for the poor by receiving charitable alms, so that no poor person should go a begging." Thus the relieving of the poor was taken from the ecclesiastical and given to the civil power. Nor was this the only extraordinary provision in this case. "Persons making 'open dole,' or giving money in alms otherwise than to the poor-boxes in each parish, were to forfeit ten times the value." Thus, all almsgiving, except through the parish poor-boxes, was not only forbidden, but every act of free charity was declared by the law to be criminal, or at least punishable, in proportion to its approximation to the liberality of Christian benevolence. I know not what was the extent of poverty at that time in England. But, allowing for great exaggeration in the statement, it must have been fearfully extensive and aggravated, since we are told that, "during the reign of Henry VIII., a period of thirty-seven years, and when the population was scarcely more than a third of its present number, seventy-two thousand persons were executed for theft and robbery; and, that the prisoners for debt and crime amounted at one time to sixty thousand persons. Sturdy beggars, for the first offence, were whipped; on a second conviction, they lost an ear; and on the third, they were executed as felons. In the succeeding reign, the Protector Somerset, though remarkable for his popularity, seemed determined, by direct force and terror, to extir-

pate vagabonds. The first act of his administration declared, that if any person shall apprehend a runagate who had lived disorderly for three days, and shall take him before two justices, the vagrant was to be branded with the letter V, and was to be adjudged a slave to the person who had apprehended him for two years. This person might also beat, chain, and put the vagrant to labor never so vile, and might feed him upon bread and water, and refuse him meat. If the vagrant should absent himself fourteen days, he was to be branded on the cheek with the letter S (slave), and was to be a slave forever. If he ran away a second time, he was to be executed. For the honor of human nature, this law continued in operation but two years." But it not only proves the desperate state of the country, but intimates much, I think, to excite suspicion of the moral tendencies of poor-laws. At least, it goes far to show that poor-laws had contributed nothing to the suppression of pauperism. "In 1563, the 5th of Elizabeth, an act was passed to appoint collectors of voluntary contributions, who should also distribute them weekly, so that none should sit a begging. If any parishioner obstinately refused to pay reasonably for the relief of the poor, the justices were empowered to tax him a reasonable weekly sum, upon his refusal to pay which he was to be imprisoned. And if any parish had more impotent poor than it was able to maintain, the justices were empowered to license them to beg in the hundreds of their country. At length, after other enactments for the regulation of assessments for the poor, and for the appointment of overseers, the last great act of Elizabeth's life was the pauper law of the 43d of her reign," which has since been the basis of the poor-laws

of England. This law is immensely in advance of all that had preceded it upon the subject. It was as wise, perhaps, as a law could have been, the object of which was a legal provision for the poor. Many are the revisions under which it has passed during the last two hundred years, and by none of them has it been improved. The population of England, at the time of the passage of this law, is estimated to have been between four and a half and five millions. The first assessment, in 1601, for carrying it into effect, — that is, for the relief of the impotent poor, and for setting the poor to work, — was £200,000. In the year 1700, when the population was about five and a half millions, the poor rates had increased to £1,000,000. And now they are advanced to nearly £8,000,000, or \$35,000,000, with a beggary as importunate as want and desperation can make it, even amidst the most extraordinary prosperity; and with an amount and extent of crime which make even this beggary a concern of secondary consideration. Now I do not ascribe all this crime and poverty to poor-laws and poor-rates. Far otherwise. But I may ask, whether there is any ground whatever in the space of history over which we have passed, for the belief that poor-laws and poor-rates have diminished pauperism in England? I may ask, if these successive enactments and provisions do not indicate very unfavorably for the character and tendencies of poor-laws? And I may also ask, if it be not an unquestionable fact that, of late years at least, these laws have increased the number and sufferings of the poor, by acting as a bounty at once upon population among the poor, and upon the oppressions of their employers? Is it said that these are results, not of the law itself, but

of the mode of its administration? I answer, that the law never was, and it never can be, well administered. It carries in itself, and they are inseparable from it, the principles of all the evils which have come from its maladministration. The language of the facts I have adduced seems to me to be very unequivocal. The provisions of the forty-third of Elizabeth, and the laws of the founders of our Commonwealth, I have no doubt, were intended for good. But they were direct violations of a principle which is not to be entrenched upon by human legislatures; the principle, I mean, that direct and authoritative prescriptions and enforcements of moral duty belong only to God. Religion has never flourished except in the cases in which it has been left as free by man as it has been left by God. And charity to man, as a vital element of religion, must be left as free as love to God, or it will never flourish. The regulating power of these principles is within themselves; or they are regulated by causes which are beyond the reach of human authority. Attempt by law the enforcement of either, and results will follow — they have never failed to follow — which will rebuke the daring presumption. Happy will it be if they shall prevent its recurrence.

The contrast, in this view of them, is very striking between England and Scotland. In the latter country, we are told, “poor-rates were comparatively unknown even when mendicity was ten times more prevalent than at present;” and they continue to be comparatively unknown there to this day. It was, indeed, most happy for Scotland, that in the time of the extremest wants and degradation of her poor, resort was not had to legislative interference for them. “In 1745, the state

of the country was rude beyond conception ; and *the common people, clothed in the coarsest garb, and starving on the meanest fare, lived in despicable huts with their cattle.* In the Highlands, in 1760, the condition of the inhabitants was, if possible, worse than that of the Lowlands. There was scarcely any variety of wretchedness with which they were not obliged to struggle, or, rather, to which they were not obliged to submit. *To such an extremity were they frequently reduced, that they had to bleed their cattle that they might subsist for a time upon the blood* (boiled) ; and the inhabitants of the glens and valleys repaired in crowds to the shore—a distance of three or four miles—to pick up the scanty provisions which the shell-fish afforded them. Their houses were commonly wretched, dirty hovels, built with stones and mud, and thatched with fern and turf, without chimneys, filled with smoke, black with soot, having low doors, and small holes for windows, with wooden shutters, or, in place of these, often stopped with turf, straw, or fragments of old clothes.” “The poor, half-starved animals, through mere weakness, often could not rise of themselves.” “At this period, too, *mendicity was extremely prevalent* ; and the labors of the peasantry, during harvest, were every now and then interrupted by the necessity of carrying crippled beggars from one farm to another.” “Now,” on the other hand, “the laborers are universally well fed and well clothed. Their cottages are comfortable, and they are all in the enjoyment of luxuries that were formerly never tasted even by rich proprietors. At the same time, also, that mendicity is almost entirely unknown, poor-rates have been introduced only in a few instances, and are in all cases

exceedingly moderate. At present, indeed, we believe there is not a parish in the whole province of Galloway assessed for the support of the poor." This is the language of the last October number of the "Edinburgh Review." It is asked, from whence came this amelioration of the condition of the peasantry in Scotland? It is attributed by the reviewer to "improvements in agriculture and the arts." "We have the best attainable authority for saying," he adds, "that we are considerably within the mark when we affirm that the produce of the country has increased *sixfold* since 1770; and, as the population has not quite doubled in the interval, it follows, that, at an average, each individual is now enjoying *three times* more of useful and desirable articles than were enjoyed by his ancestors subsequently to the Seven Years' War." The arts, however, have advanced as rapidly in England as in Scotland. Nay, it is said by the reviewer to be "admitted on all hands that the produce of wheat in England and Wales has more than trebled since 1760; and that, of the whole population of that part of the empire, there is certainly not one-eighth part that does not use wheaten bread." The question arises, why, then, is mendicity so tremendously great in England, and so comparatively small in Scotland? Is it said that the evil is to be ascribed to "the injudicious alteration of the poor-laws in 1795," by which the poor-rates were employed to eke out the wages of the laborer. But whence came this perversion of the poor-laws? From a succession of bad harvests? The seasons, indeed, in England, from 1795 to 1801, were very unfavorable to agriculture, and the wants and sufferings of the poor there were proportionally increased. But have there been no seasons in

Scotland greatly unfavorable to its agriculture? What, then, has been the resort in Scotland in exigencies like these? I answer, voluntary assessments in proportion as they were demanded by the exigency; and, when that ceased, the assessments ceased. But in a time of similar pressure in England, new modifications of the poor-laws were adopted; for the question there, of the provision to be made for a season of extraordinary distress, was not one of occasional and temporary and free and sympathizing charity. It was, rather, one of the adaptations of a law to the case, of a law which for centuries had been in operation, requiring annual or more frequent assessments, and to which the poor in England had been as much accustomed to look for supplies, as those in Scotland had been to their own industry. In this single view, then, of poor-laws, their tendencies and consequences seem to me to be most manifest. When I compare the two countries in this respect, I cannot doubt whether it has been a great good to Scotland, that its charity has not been fettered by these laws, or that they have been a cause, and a principal cause, of what some of its greatest statesmen have designated as the "frightful pauperism" of England.

I cannot say that there are not other facts and other views of this subject which would lead to a different conclusion respecting it. I can only say, that I have looked at the facts which have come under my own observation, or within the narrow scope of my reading upon it, with a very strong impression of the magnitude of the interests which are involved in it; and that, before I undertook the agency for an examination of the actual influences of our own poor-laws, I was de-

cidedly in favor of a modified plan for a State provision for the poor. But in the progress of that examination, I was brought to an entirely different conviction; and this conviction has been strengthened by all my subsequent reflections upon the tendencies and bearings of the poor-laws of England. Still, I well know, I may be in error. My aim, however, is not change for the sake of change, or even for the purpose of experiment. It is truth, and truth only. There are few interests of earth and time in which I feel so deep a concern as in the causes, the remedy, and the prevention of the prevailing pauperism of the world; and there are few subjects, if indeed there be one, for increasing light upon which I should feel so much gratitude and happiness as upon this. If I have taken narrow views, and have been led to erroneous conclusions upon it, no one will rejoice more than I shall in an exposure of my errors, and the prevention of any evil consequences which might have resulted from them.

There is, however, another view of poor-laws, which deserves far more attention than has been given to it. I have referred to this view, in speaking of them as direct and authoritative encroachments upon the peculiar prerogative of God, — *the direct inculcation of moral duties upon men*. Here, indeed, I may be met by the advocate of these laws with the reply, that, although they have been so called, they are not, in truth, “a compulsion of charity,” or a legal requisition of charity; that, in strictness of speech, however they may have been designated, they do not touch the moral law of charity, and have nothing to do with it. They are, on the contrary, to be viewed only as provisions at once for that *protection* which the law owes to the poor in

their exposures to neglect and oppression and misery; and, to those who are not poor, for defence against the dangers to which society would otherwise be exposed from an overwhelming pauperism. My answer is, that in requiring assessments for the poor, the law has expressly and repeatedly required them as "*charitable alms*." It has, therefore, certainly intended to enforce charity. I have no doubt that the protection of society has also been one of the objects of poor-laws. But does any one believe that the protection of the poor was ever thought of in framing these laws? This is entirely a modern and a very recent explanation of their design. Nor is this all. I take the ground, that provisions for the supply of the necessities of the poor are the proper objects, not of legal enactments, but of the moral law of charity. Such provisions ought to be *charities* in the strictest sense of the term. Our religion is not more full or more distinct on any subject than on this; and the argument against poor-laws, in this single view of them, is, to my mind, entirely satisfactory. *They set aside the charity of religion, and substitute for it something which is not charity.* Nor is this the only encroachment which law has made upon moral rights and moral duties. In establishing a religion for the State, it has, in every instance of this daring, substituted for Christianity something very different from the simplicity and freedom of the gospel. Law has never interfered even for the regulation of wages, or of industry or enterprise in any of their departments, without extending injury to a far greater number than it has been able to benefit. Above all, will this be the result when it assumes to enforce moral obligations. And provisions for the poor are, I repeat, the appropri-

ate work of charity. So God intended that they should be. And never will they be sufficient, or what they should be, or conduce to God's purposes concerning them, till they are made exclusively the work of an enlightened Christian charity.

This topic is so important, that I beg to say a few more words upon it.

It certainly would be a wise principle in legislation never to attempt the attainment of moral objects by law, till it shall have been proved that moral means are insufficient for their attainment ; and, even then, that such objects should be made the aim of law, not by assuming the power of enforcing moral obligation, but by removing, as far as they are within the fair scope of law, the impediments which are in the way of a free moral action in society, — the outward and visible facilities and excitements to evil. In this way legislatures, for example, may do much for the cause of temperance. They may impose heavy excise duties, and require heavy costs for licenses to sell ardent spirits. They may also not only imprison the drunkard, making no distinction between the rich and the poor, but may give his property, if he have any, to trustees or to guardians, for his own support and that of his family. But, even while thousands are dying the victims of lawless appetites, it is not the province of law *to command temperance*, or to prescribe to men what, or when, or how much they shall eat or drink. The law, too, may and should extend protection to all, whenever they may require it, in the quiet exercise and enjoyment of their religious rights. But it may not require that men should read the Bible, or pray at home, or go to church on Sunday, or on any other day. It may also, and it

should, inflict exemplary punishment upon the profligate, the gambler, and the dishonest; for these are violators of the rights, disturbers of the peace, and, to the extent of their influence, destroyers of the order and security of society. But if it should take into its keeping and direction God's laws respecting moral purity and industry and honesty, it could communicate no salutary impulse to these laws, and it would certainly lead to their very great perversion. And, in regard to charity, the law may be a very efficient instrument; for it may do much for the remedy and the prevention of pauperism. It may act with a great and rightful power for these objects by the means to which I have already adverted. And, in addition to these, it may give authority to overseers of the poor to retain in their charge and service any able-bodied recipient of their aid or support, till by his labors he has remunerated them, or the institution in which he has been aided, for the expense incurred for him. A law to this effect would be justified by the principle, that if a man refuse to pay a just debt, he violates one of the elementary principles of civil society, of the laws of property, and may therefore be constrained to pay it. It may also establish houses of reformation for juvenile offenders, and thus save society from their depredations, and many hundreds of them from poverty and crime. It may make its prisons, through the solitary confinement of their inmates, and its wise and humane provisions for moral discipline, for useful instruction, and for generous excitement, to be schools of reformation. And it may extend all that protection equally to all the rights and interests of the poorest, which may be fairly claimed and enjoyed by the most opulent, and thus enlist the

sympathies of the poor in the cause of law and justice and order and the common weal. But it cannot authoritatively require charity, or prescribe the manner or amount of alms-giving, without encroaching on a moral principle, to the action, or even to the very life of which, freedom is as essential a requisite as is air to the continuance of human existence. It cannot prescribe the manner and amount of alms-giving, without substituting a principle for charity, which will be even far more liable to the greatest abuses than is charity, amidst all the selfishness of the world, to be insufficient for the occasions which require its exercise. This is a fact which, I think, is very clearly demonstrated by the history of all legal interpositions for the support of the poor. These interpositions have commenced in seasons which, it was thought, peculiarly demanded them; that is, in seasons which called for extraordinary efforts for the relief of the poor. But, in such seasons, what has been the resort in Scotland? There these exigencies have been left to the free judgment of those who were to meet and to provide for them; and measures have been adopted, which were confined in their operation to the time for which they were required. But in England, fettered as it has been by legal requisitions in regard to the poor, the resort, in similar exigencies, has been to the law in the case; and, if no fair use could be made of it, recourse was had to an abuse of the law. This is the natural operation of the systems of the two countries for the relief of the poor. An extraordinary demand for this relief calls forth in one an extraordinary exercise of actual charity, and not only of individual, but of social charity. When these exigencies occur there, the landed proprietors meet for the purpose of

affording the relief required, and they afford it by a voluntary assessment, or the parish sessions may give the relief which the necessities of the case demand. This relief, however, is continued no longer than the exigency which called for it. On the other hand, the abuses of the poor-laws in England, of which so much is said, and which are traced to the scarcity which began in 1795, have continued to this day, are sanctioned by usage, and, till the occurrence of a few late acts of resistance to them, threatened to become as essentially a part of the system as if the law had incorporated them with it. This is a fact full of solemn admonition, and should not be lightly regarded by us.¹

¹ In Mundell's "Comparative View of the Industrial Situation of Great Britain from the year 1795 to the present time," the author, in speaking of the act of the 43d of Elizabeth, says: "The legislature here made a great mistake in attempting to enforce a moral obligation which rests upon a far higher sanction. *This obligation has never been found to fail in the parishes of Scotland, where no compulsory provision has been introduced.* Mr. Duncan, a clergyman of the Church of Scotland, says, 'the poor,' in his parish, 'are principally supported by their own relations. There is that feeling in Scotland of independence, that laudable desire among the poor to provide for themselves, and that dislike of any thing approaching to charity, that the laboring classes in those quarters in which poor-rates have not been introduced, universally consider it their duty to make every sacrifice to support their poor relations.' Whenever this moral obligation has been interfered with in Scotland, it has been found to be prejudicial. A committee of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, in a report made to a select committee of the House of Commons upon the poor-laws, in 1817, say: 'It is clear to the committee, that, in almost all the parishes that have come under their notice, where a regular assessment has been established, the wants of the poor and the extent of the assessments have regularly and progressively increased from the commencement. And it does appear to be a

Our Commonwealth, almost from the very date of its foundation, has been under the influence of poor-laws. Our fathers came here with all their prepossessions strong in favor of laws for the support of the poor. They had lived under the operation of such laws in the parent country. One of the very first enactments, therefore, of "the Court of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts Bay" had for its object "to determine all differences about the *lawful settling and providing for poor persons* ;" and the extraordinary power was given to "any shire court, or any two magistrates out of court, to dispose of all unsettled persons into such towns as they shall judge to be most fit for the main-

matter for very serious interest to the community at large to prevent, as far as possible, this practice from being adopted; to limit the assessments as much as they can be limited, where the circumstances of particular parishes render them unavoidable; and, wherever it is practicable, to abandon them." pp. 101, 102.

"A fund is raised in every parish in Scotland by voluntary collections at the kirk door, and devoted to charitable uses. This fund is administered by the 'kirk-session,' a body composed of the ministers and elders of the parish. When a year of extraordinary pressure occurs, and the fund proves insufficient for its purposes, the heritors, or landholders of the parish, hold a meeting, at which they fix for themselves a rate of contribution to make up the deficiency." — *Edinburgh Review*, No. 55.

"No country in Europe has followed the example of England in the institution of poor-laws." "On the continent of Europe, the public institutions afford protection only against infirmity and extreme penury. Even Holland, so noted for its hospitals and charities, has not a poor-rate on the comprehensive plan of England."

See Mr. Meredith's report to the House of Representatives in Pennsylvania, on the operation of the poor-laws. 1825. And Lowe's "Present State of England," p. 189.

tenance and employment of such persons and families, *for the ease of this county.*" Here, then, is the origin of all that litigation which, from the beginning, has disturbed the peace of our towns upon the question of the settlement of the poor, — a litigation, the least evil of which has been, and is, the not unfrequent expenditure of twice the amount of money which would be required to support him or her who is the object of the contention. Let the overseers of the poor in the towns of our Commonwealth be consulted upon this subject, and great numbers of them, as well from their own experience as their observation, will acknowledge this evil to be a great one. It is a contention, — respecting what? The legal duty of a town in regard to the relief or support of a fellow-being to whom it has been found necessary to give relief or support. A poor individual or a poor family has asked for and has received assistance from an overseer of the poor. And it is not improbable that relief may have so been asked, from the very circumstance that the overseers are legally required to give it. It is believed, however, that he or they have a habitancy in another town in the Commonwealth. Notice is therefore sent to this town, that the individual or family so aided must be removed; and that, till this removal is effected, all expenses incurred for the sufferer or sufferers will be charged to the town to which he or they are so supposed to belong. Is the asserted habitancy denied? The resort is "to the law;" and the question is argued as a mere legal and pecuniary one. So, indeed, it must of necessity be. If the support required by the poor individual or family was regarded only as a concern of humanity and charity, no argument could be held upon it in our courts. Pre-

sented in this form, it would be dismissed at once as a purely moral question, to be settled by moral considerations and principles. And as a merely legal and pecuniary question, the decision of which must rest upon the facts which go to prove or to disprove the asserted and denied habitancy, the purely moral considerations and principles of the case are set aside in the minds of the litigants, equally as in those of the lawyers whom they employ as the supporters of their cause. It is a contest in law between towns, — not to settle a principle, the settlement of which will prevent future differences in regard to the poor, but simply for a recovery on the one hand, and for an exemption from payment on the other, of an expense which has been incurred by a town for the relief or support of some person or family which it is denied has a legal habitancy in it. Can such contests be maintained without a great sacrifice of true charity? Is not the cost and the loss of moral and kindly feeling which are incurred in these contests incomparably a more serious consideration — do they not bring with them an incomparably greater evil to our towns — than would be the pecuniary cost of supporting those who are the objects of such contentions?

Again. The very law which requires the support of the poor of course invests the poor with a LEGAL RIGHT to this support. It thus creates a new and supplemental right additional to the natural and moral rights which were antecedent to it. And why is this? Is the natural right of man denied, or indeed the right of any living being, to that which is indispensable to his subsistence? “Men do not despise a thief if he steal to satisfy his soul when he is hungry.” (Prov. vi. 20.)

Or is the moral right, the right which is founded in the exposures and sufferings of our common nature, and in our relation as fellow-beings, and, I will add, even in conscience, the highest principle of our nature, — is this right too undefinable or too feeble for the security of a provision for the poor? However this may be, the fact is unquestionable, that the right thus conferred by law is fully understood. There is here no obscurity. This right, too, is as strong as it is well defined. I do not mean that every overseer of the poor must, and does, give to every applicant for public alms. But I mean that the applicants for public alms are greatly increased in numbers by the knowledge of this right to alms when they think that they have need of them. I am quite accustomed to hear the expressions, “there is a provision made for the poor, and I have a right to it as well as others.” The right, in common cases of our home poor, may not often be openly asserted, when alms are sought of the overseers of the poor. And yet I doubt not that they will bear me witness, that the assertion of it, even in these cases, is not an unheard of occurrence among them. It would be strange, indeed, if the knowledge of such a provision required by law should fail to create applicants for it. The provision is virtually a fund created by the law, of which those who understand the law, and who had rather live upon the earnings of others than by their own industry, will seek their share; not, however, as a charity, but as a legally allotted portion of the common stock. Nor is it to be doubted that a share of this stock is sought and obtained by many who, if there had been no poor-laws among us, would never have asked for charity.

These, however, are not the greatest of the evils of our legal system of provision for the poor. The order of "the Court of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts Bay," to which I have referred, "for determining differences about the lawful settling and providing for poor persons," has its date in 1639. But the principle having been adopted, that legal interference was necessary to secure the exercise of the common rights of humanity toward the suffering poor, and a most arbitrary law having been passed for fixing settlements, it is not strange that the occurrence of an unforeseen exigency, bearing directly upon the operation of the principle thus assumed, and of the measures taken to carry it through, should have been interpreted as a call to new legislative provisions upon the subject. Such an exigency occurred in 1675. "This court," it was then said, "*considering the inconvenience and damage which may arise to particular towns, by such as being forced from their habitations by the present calamity of the war, do repair unto them for succor, do order and declare, that such persons, being inhabitants of this jurisdiction, who are so forced from their habitations, and repair to other plantations for their relief, shall not, by virtue of their residence in such plantations they repair unto, be accounted or respected inhabitants thereof, or imposed upon them according to law. But in such case, and where necessity requires, by reason of inability of relations, &c., they shall be paid out of the public treasury.*" The question arises, supposing there had been no poor-laws previous to 1675, whether even the difficulties of this exigency would have been thought a call for legal interference? Had our ancestors never before enacted laws for the support of the poor; and,

especially, if they had not brought with them the spirit of legal provision for this object from England, I do not believe that "the difficulty and damage" which, it was apprehended, "might arise to particular towns, by such as being forced from their habitations by the calamity of the war, repaired unto such towns for succor," would have been felt by these towns to have demanded legislative aid from the public treasury. The call was loud indeed, and imperative upon these towns, for extraordinary exertions. And had there been no poor-laws, free social charity might have received a strong excitement in behalf of the sufferers referred to, not only in the places where they were, but in other towns than those in which the destitute sought for temporary security and support. Nor can I have a doubt that the sympathy and humanity of those who were able to defend and provide for their brethren, thus "forced from their habitations," would have been sufficient for the exigency, great as it might have been. But the fact is, and it is not to be forgotten, that social charity had hardly known a day of freedom within the limits of "the Colony and Province of Massachusetts Bay." It had been bound in fetters at its very birth, and was now so crippled that it was thought at least that it could not go alone; or it had not been trusted, and it was therefore thought that it could not be trusted. The legislature had taken it into its charge, and the people therefore thought that it was the proper charge of the legislature. Here were the chief difficulties of the case. Government had undertaken to say who should, and who should not, be supported by towns. The consequence was, that towns had not only learned to measure their obligations to charity by the ordi-

nances of government, but to look also to government for relief, either when they felt or feared the weight of a more than ordinary burden. It was in this exigency that recourse was had, for the first time in our annals, to the public treasury for the support of the poor. I am almost tempted to say, would that our fathers could but for a moment have foreseen the effects of this precedent! The waste of money, indeed, I account as nothing, though it has been very great, compared with the pauperism and the waste of virtue and happiness to which it has ministered.

Suppose, then, that our poor-laws should be abolished. This is a measure which is thought by some to be fraught even with far greater dangers than are any with which these laws may threaten us. "Repeal these laws," it will be said, "and thousands of beggars, now aided or supported by our overseers, will at once be thrown upon the community. Repeal our poor-laws, and, unharmed as may be many of our small towns, the large ones, and especially upon the seaboard, will be exposed to an inundation of poverty, from which we should soon find it necessary to pray that legislative interposition may again be granted for our protection." I reply, that I have no fear of this result. I have no fear that a repeal of our poor-laws would leave the poor in any town in the Commonwealth exclusively to a dependence on private charity, provided that other means than private charity should be required for the charge of them. There might be, and I think there would be, towns in which within a short time it would be found no longer necessary to have annual assessments for the poor, because there would be found in them, as there are in many towns in Scotland, no greater number requir-

ing charity than could easily and willingly be taken in charge by private benevolence. But exigencies would probably occur even in these towns, which would require extraordinary efforts and measures effectually to meet them. And in our large towns extraordinary efforts and measures might immediately be demanded. But for what? To aid and support all who have hitherto been supported? No. It is the facility with which this provision has been obtained by many of the idle and able-bodied, who will never work while they can live without work, and by the intemperate and improvident, who might support themselves in the time when there is no demand for their labor, were they to spare and save, as they well might while they are every day finding employment, which has occasioned a great extent of the expenditures that have been incurred for the poor. It is a matter of course, that, as long as individuals of this description have only to demand public support to obtain it, the necessity of labor in one case and of providence and economy in the other will be unfelt. I would even say, let the law make the amount of its allowance as small as it may, and prescribe the manner in which this allowance shall be given with as many restrictions as it may, the simple fact of an appropriation for this object by law confers a legal right, and justifies a legal claim to it. And how shall the right or the claim be limited in practice, where the ground of either cannot be contested by those to whom application for the provision is made? Let the difficulties of the case, then, be as great as they may, which would be consequent upon a repeal of our poor-laws, the proposition of a return to these laws would at best offer but a choice of very great difficulties. It would

at best be the proposition of a measure which would be as sure to produce an ultimate increase of the evil as it would be to bring a temporary relief from it. The questions, then, are to be fairly and fearlessly met: Are there no better provisions to be made for the poor than any which are within the scope of law? Are not the claims of justice and of humanity to be fully answered, while at the same time the measures are avoided by which pauperism in its worst forms and sin and misery are extended? In other words, should all legal provision for the poor be abolished, how are the poor to be provided for? I hardly know whence a greater amount of moral good could be looked for to our community, or our State, or, at least, whence a rescue could be obtained from a greater amount of moral evil than from an interest as strong and as prevalent as should be felt in this inquiry.

Do you ask, then, what answer I would give to this last inquiry? In reply, I must ask, from whence has come upon us this extent of poverty? Who are these multitudes of the poor? Are the causes of the condition in which we find them unintelligible? or, where these causes may be understood, are they wholly beyond our control? Is this whole multitude in some way to be supported by alms? May we not cleanse or dry up some of the springs of this evil which threaten us as with an inundation? Let us pause at these questions. Look at this amount of the poor *en masse*, which is thus to be thrown upon the community, and the difficulty of provision for them without legislative requisitions, aye, and without legislative allowances for their support, may seem to be insuperable. But separate and classify them, and light will break in upon the ques-

tions of duty and of interest in regard to them. Who, then, I ask again, are these poor? What are their just claims? and what are the rights and duties of society respecting them?

In answer to the question, who are these poor? I would divide them into five classes; first, the idle, intemperate, and improvident, who, but for their idleness, intemperance, and improvidence, might support themselves by their own labors; second, the permanently poor, who are broken in constitution and health by the viciousness of their lives, and are capable of little or no service by which they may minister to their own subsistence; third, the permanently virtuous poor, who, by reason of disease, debility, or old age, are to be permanently supported; fourth, the temporarily and occasionally poor, who are doing what they can for self-support, but who need, especially in winter and during a time of sickness, occasional and temporary aid; and, fifth, the orphan, or deserted, or neglected and morally exposed, or actually vicious children of these classes of the poor. Each of these classes, I think, has strong claims, which imply duties on the part of society towards them. But society has also corresponding claims and rights respecting them. Let us, then, be just in our judgments of their claims and rights as well as of our own. Nay, we cannot correctly estimate our own claims and rights, or conceive justly of our duties in the case, while we deny, or think lightly of, the just claims which they have upon us. If society have caused — and who can doubt whether it have caused? — a great amount of this poverty and vice, it is so far responsible for it, and should provide for it. But it should so provide for it as at the same

time to prevent its continuance. It should provide for it on the broad basis of the inalienable rights of humanity, of Christian brotherhood, and of the obligations of the stewards of the manifold gifts of God that they be found faithful.

What, then, are the fair rights and claims of the first class, and what are the rights and duties of society in regard to them?

"The distinction," says the report of the commissioners on the pauper laws, "is a broad one, and should never be lost sight of, between the idle beggar and the impotent poor. For while the duty in regard to the latter is most plain, and enforced alike by the principles of religion and humanity, that they are to be supported by those who have the means and opportunity of supporting them, it is equally clear that the able-bodied and the idle have no claim to support from a tax upon the capacity and the property of the industrious." This is true. But it is neither all the truth nor the most important truth upon this subject. For who, I again ask, are these idle and able-bodied, these intemperate and improvident claimants of alms? Some of them, indeed, were reared under advantages, from which a better condition and character might have been hoped for. But they had not moral strength to resist strong temptations to early vicious indulgence, surrounded as they were with facilities and excitements to this indulgence, which, even if they were not in all cases, in some, at least, were authorized by law; and in all were sanctioned by the approbation, or were either winked at or unheeded by the policy or the negligence, of society around them. A very great proportion, however, of these degraded fellow-beings drew their first breath in

the abodes of poverty, were reared amidst improvidence and intemperance, had few or no advantages during their childhood for religious or any other useful instruction, and in the most susceptible season of life were exposed to all the influences which can corrupt the mind in all its springs of thought and disposition and conduct. When I see, as every week I see, the number of children who are growing up even in our city of schools, under the full action of all the circumstances which can vitiate the body and deprave the soul, without any regular employment, and uncared for whether they are idle or employed,—very early as familiar with the language of profaneness and as flip-pant in the use of it as even a systematic education in it could have rendered them,—already having acquired a love of ardent spirits, and being accustomed to obtain them when and as they can,—when I see these children, now wandering about with no other object than that of wearing away the time, and now engaged in petty gambling, or in some other and equally reckless indulgence, wholly uncontrolled at home, and only checked abroad and kept from outrage by their fear of its consequences; and when I think of the number of children similarly exposed in all our great towns, and in many of our small ones; when I am told of between ten and twelve thousand children in the city of New York, between the ages of five and fifteen years, and of two hundred and fifty thousand, between the same ages, in the State of Pennsylvania, who are not in any school; and when I think of the many hundreds of thousands in England, in Ireland, and on the continent of Europe, entering upon life, and passing its first fifteen or twenty years amidst moral dangers, of which

no one speaks to them a warning word, and in the formation of habits as vicious and corrupting as they well can be, — truly I am surprised. But at what? Not that there is so much idleness and intemperance and improvidence, so much abjectness and beggary and vice among those who have physical strength for their own support. My surprise is, that there are not more, and more terrible outbreakings of the worst passions; that there is not more outrageous vice than we actually see among them. My surprise is, that so many of them are brought to do what they honestly may do for their own subsistence, and that they are not more frequently asking for what they need, or taking it unasked. Where, then, rests accountableness for their poverty, their character, their moral exposures, and the exposures of society through their lawless wants, and equally lawless dispositions and habits? A tremendous responsibility, in these respects, it seems to me lies upon the society around the poor of this class; for the causes of the degradation of these unhappy fellow-beings are within the control of the society around them. The causes of this poverty are moral; and three-fourths of it may be prevented by the moral agencies which it has pleased God to place within the power of those who form and guide the opinions and decree and establish the usages of society. Is it asked, what are these moral preventives? I will give my own views of them as briefly as I can.¹

I would say, then, that the most important of all

¹ How can it be that pauperism should not extend in our city, while 700 places are licensed in it for the sale of ardent spirits; while a quart of these spirits may be obtained for ten cents, — a smaller sum than may be earned by the lowest laborer in an hour; and while multitudes, under the excitement and gratification

means for the rescue of those who are most exposed to fall into this class of the poor, and for the security of society from the evils which are experienced or are feared from them, is an active and prevalent sensibility in society to the true causes of their degradation; an active and prevalent sentiment in society of the nearness of the relation and of the identity of the interests of all its classes and its members; and a corresponding feeling of obligation in every one, first, in no way to contribute to the production or the maintenance of the causes of debasement and misery among his fellow-creatures; and, secondly, in every way, as he has the means and opportunity, to favor and support the measures which, under such circumstances, he shall believe to be for the greatest good of the whole and of every member of the community. Let this sensibility, this sentiment, and this feeling of obligation be what they should be, and what Christianity intends that they shall be, in those who profess to receive it, and distilleries and dram-shops and brothels and gambling-houses will not be found the formidable obstacles which they now are in the way of the reformation and salvation of hundreds of thousands of our fellow-beings from sin and ruin and wretchedness. I thank God that there is an increasing sensibility to the causes of the greatest and

thus given to their vitiated appetites, are only more happy in the indulgence of these appetites than they are in bringing others to the level of their own debasement? Let us be instructed by the facts which are daily calling for attention to this subject. The question of the causes and remedy of pauperism is intimately connected with the cause of liberty, order, virtue, and happiness, through the generations that are to follow us. Let us be faithful to our interests and our duties in regard to it, and God will not fail to follow our efforts with his blessing.

of the most general suffering among us. But it is yet small compared with what it should be. And feeble, too, is the sentiment of the relation of men to each other, as the immortal children of the infinite Father; and, consequently, of the identity of their immediate through that of their eternal interests. Oh, when will this sentiment become the life-spring of the connection and intercourse of man with man! We hear much of the mighty power of public opinion. And, in truth, it has done and is doing much for the demolition of old and apparently impregnable institutions; for the advancement of religious and civil freedom; for the abolition of slavery; for the suppression and prevention of intemperance; and for other great concerns of humanity. More, indeed, in these respects has been achieved within the last fifty years and through this very agency than was accomplished by the labors of the preceding fifteen centuries. But the power which Christianity would give to it, and the uses which Christianity would make of it, are, I think, yet very partially and to a very limited extent comprehended. Let it be brought under the guidance of the instructions of Jesus Christ, as far only as his religion is professedly received, and imbued with the spirit which Christian principles would impart to it, and there are no objects to which an enlightened Christian benevolence can prompt, which an enlightened Christian opinion will not be able to accomplish. Let every one, then, who acknowledges the truth of Christianity be faithful to the obligations which it imposes on him. Something may be done, by means short of these, to check the progress of abject pauperism and crime. But by no other means can all the good which God has placed within our power be attained or accomplished.

But the difficulty will still recur, "we must take the world as it is." Be it so. The question then presents itself, suppose our poor-laws to be abolished, what immediate measures must be taken to meet the exigency?

In the first place, I would reply, that *for the idle and able-bodied, the intemperate and improvident, who apply for alms, work, or the opportunity to work, should be provided.* I know it will be said, that however easy it may be found to propose this plan, it will not be found very easy of execution. Perhaps not. But is it therefore wholly impracticable? It would, indeed, be very difficult of execution, if an equal number with that of those who now make up this class of applicants for alms was continually, or even for a very long time, thus to be provided for. But suppose that our municipal authorities should advertise in all our newspapers, and even send the information from house to house for a year, that half the average wages given to laborers who find for themselves sufficient employment will be given by the city to the laborers who ask for alms because they cannot find employment, for each good day's work that shall be done by them in digging earth, and wheeling it on the city's lands, in the places which it is very desirable should be so improved, how much land would thus probably be brought into a state for the erection upon it of habitations for man? I do not believe that many acres would thus be added to the city. But I do believe that by this expedient much might be done to check the spirit of beggary, and to excite many who are now willing to live by beggary to useful industry. For a short time, I have no doubt, in case of a repeal of our poor-laws, this class of the claim-

ants of alms in some of our towns would be large, and for a long time — at least as long as every conceivable excitement to intemperance is left in their way — there will be a sufficient number of them to call for the very serious attention of the overseers of the poor and of the public. For this class of the poor I would not, therefore, wholly rely on this expedient. I would proceed a step further, and provide for them well-organized *workhouses*.

This measure is recommended in the report of the commissioners. But it is there proposed only as a measure for “the protection of the industrious and the thrifty, against the demands and incursions of the idle and able-bodied.” It is therefore there recommended only on the ground of the claims of society against this class of the poor. But it ought to have been distinctly stated, and should be distinctly understood, that the claim for these establishments is quite equal on the part of those who are to be sent to them. Workhouses, and even prisons, will assume a new character, and be regarded with new associations and sentiments by society, when it shall be fully comprehended to what an extent it is the *misfortune*, as well as the vice of the inmates of these institutions, by which they are brought to them. I have referred to the circumstances by which great numbers are brought into this class of the poor, and I will not here dwell upon them. I say only, that if society have a right to demand protection from them, — and I admit this right, — they, too, have some corresponding claims upon the sympathy of society. I do not say that they have a claim to alms, as such; for, in proportion as a reliance is had simply on alms for their relief, the very means of relief are also means of con-

firming and extending the evil. This reliance has indeed done very much to extend and to perpetuate the evil. But it still may be a noble charity to found a workhouse, which, while it gives support, and requires compensation for it from him who shall receive it, at the same time confers, with the support so given, the unspeakably greater good of that moral instruction and discipline which shall call forth new and better dispositions than were ever before possessed, and do what can be done for the formation and establishment of a better character. Let workhouses be established on these principles in the counties, or in smaller districts or departments of our Commonwealth, in which alone overseers of the poor shall be authorized to give aid to those who have physical power for self-support; and let the legislature give the power, if it be not already possessed, to compel the inmates of these institutions to so much labor as would at least have earned their entire support if they had been laboring abroad. To my mind there would be nothing unjust or unkind in either of these measures; and should even very many, who might be so provided for, be unable to make a complete remuneration for the expenditures incurred for them, I cannot doubt that a great good would accrue both to the poor of this class and to society, through these institutions. I cannot doubt that poverty, of the kind here referred to, to a considerable extent may thus be remedied; or that, to a still greater extent, its increase may thus be prevented.¹

¹ The workhouse system, as it exists in England, is indeed as bad as could well be devised, and is as corruptly administered as the system of poor-rates. It is a fit part only of such a machinery as that to which it belongs, and could be retained only in

The *second* class I have named consists of *the permanently poor, who are broken in constitution and health by the viciousness of their lives, and are capable of little or no service by which they may minister to their own subsistence.* These, also, I would make the inmates of a *workhouse.* They are now, indeed, as they are seen

such a connection. When the workhouse system, therefore, is spoken of by English political economists or philanthropists, we are to understand that reference is had to workhouses as they now exist in England. Two or three, or it may be half a dozen, parishes unite to farm out their poor to the keeper of one of these establishments. The houses in which the poor are thus kept do not admit of the classification of their inmates, and a very depraving influence is constantly going on in them. Nay, in London at least, the inmates of these institutions are allowed to go out once and twice a week to visit their friends; on which occasions they swell the number of street beggars, and are not distinguishable from them. Nor have we yet, in our own country, a workhouse as it should be. The best organized establishment of this kind which I have visited is that in Baltimore. There, a debt and credit account is opened with each inmate. Board, clothing, and medical attendance are charged to each; and as soon as any one is capable of work, work is required of him in payment of his debt. The principal employments in this establishment are, farming, weaving, shoe making, and tailoring. Seven cents a day are credited for work done; and he who leaves the institution without having received a regular discharge is held liable for the debt he has incurred in it; and if taken and returned, is punishable for a misdemeanor. The average number per month in this institution last year was 434. The whole expense for the poor in it last year was \$13,956.45. The expense for out-door poor in the same year was \$1,814.25. Total, \$15,770.70. The number of out-door poor assisted by the trustees for the poor was 117. These sums are independent of expenditures for permanent improvements, and for interest upon the debt arising out of the purchase of the farm, which, if added to the above total, would make the whole expense to have been \$17,004.67. The population of Baltimore is 80,000.

abroad, and while living upon the miserable food which sustains them, and daily extending disease through their bodies, and corruption and misery through their minds, by the indulgence of their vitiated and lawless appetite for ardent spirits, often so much enfeebled as to be able only to move about in search of sustenance, or of the stimulus which they feel to be more important for them than food. But in a well regulated workhouse, to which they should be sent, or on their application received, as permanent poor, to live and die there, many would regain the strength by which they could do something for their support; and, in truth, be a far less expense to society than they are while living as they now live. The removal of the spectacle and example of such as these from the families in which they live, and the neighborhoods in which they are seen, would alone bring to these families and neighborhoods a moral good, which would richly repay the expense at which it must be purchased. This is a class of the poor which calls loudly for compassion. It contains some who have fallen from a condition of competency; and a greater number who have come into it from the first class which I have described of the poor, and who have descended, some more rapidly than others, and some further than others, into the gulf of utter darkness, and of total dependence, in which we find them. In a workhouse, organized upon the principles of an enlarged Christian philanthropy, — by which I mean the principles at once of the greatest good to its inmates and to society, — the poor of this class would recover some at least of the almost lost powers of their moral nature. Something, and perhaps much would be effected, in the work of their moral redemption. With-

out any encroachment upon their rights, government might give the power of continuing their confinement, in case of the recovery of their health, till they shall have made a suitable return by their labors for the care that has been taken of them. Government may thus at once act for the rich, in the protection of property; and for large numbers of the poor, in saving them from the greatest of their exposures and miseries.

That the two classes of the poor of which I have spoken comprehend a very large proportion of the dependents upon public alms, we have the testimonies of the superintendents of our almshouses. Of 499 inmates of our House of Industry, when it was visited by the agent of the commissioners, three-fourths, excluding idiots and the insane, were said to have been brought there by intemperance. Of 3,000 who have been admitted to the Salem workhouse, during the ten years in which it has been in the care of its present superintendent, he thinks that 2,900 were brought there directly or indirectly by intemperance. Of 109 in the Marblehead almshouse, 78 were brought there by the same cause. In Cambridge, three-fourths of 104, and in Charlestown, the same proportion of 150, but for this cause, it is thought, would not have been in the almshouse. And hardly is there a town in the Commonwealth, the statistics of whose poor have been taken, in which this is not considered as the principal cause of the most expensive poverty for which it has to make provision. Nor is this the strong conviction only of the superintendents of our own almshouses. Say those of Columbia county, New York: "Of all the persons sent to the poor-house, more than half have been reduced to pauperism, directly or indirectly, by intemperance.

The statute ought to provide directly, and not by implication, that the services of such persons shall be effectually under the control of those who have the support of their families, — the overseers of the poor. The poor-house system is daily becoming more popular, from satisfactory evidence of its bettering the condition of the poor, and vastly lessening the expense of their support." In this county, it is to be remembered that aid is given by the overseers only at the poor-house. The superintendents in the county of Seneca "do not hesitate to say, that it is their firm belief that two-thirds, if not three-fourths, of the pauperism of the county arises from intemperance;" and, says the superintendent of the almshouse in the city of New York, in a letter dated 7th January, 1833, and addressed to the Secretary of State, "the number of male adults at present in the house is 572, of which number there are not ten that can be called sober men. The number of female adults is 601, and I doubt whether there are fifty of them who can be called sober women. I consider the present pauper laws as calculated to encourage intemperance, from the fact that habitual drunkards remain in the asylums which are provided for them *only during their pleasure. When they are ordered to work, many of them take their discharge. They soon become miserable objects about our streets, and are sent again to the almshouse; and by the time they get well, again take their discharge. And so on from year to year. I believe that all persons whom the public support as habitual drunkards ought to be admitted to a workhouse: for at least twelve months, where they could be compelled to earn their living; and when their term expires, if they take their discharge and again become*

intemperate, commit them again for twelve months more, and so continue." I will only add, from the highly respectable superintendent of our establishment for the poor at South Boston, that "when it was commenced it was intended for the reception and employment of the able-bodied poor, who should claim the charity of the city. Hence it was called the *House of Industry*. But it has no effectual means of detaining this class of the poor when they are disposed to escape from it. They go to it, therefore, only for temporary relief, when they are worn out by intemperance and disease, and leave it as soon as they have acquired strength to return to their former indulgencies in the city, or to lead a wandering life in travelling over the country. Instead, therefore, of being a House of Industry, the institution has become at once a general infirmary, an asylum for the insane, and a refuge for the deserted and destitute children of the city." Here, then, is the chief cause of the worst form of poverty among us,—of the poverty which calls for the largest expenditures, and which occasions the greatest public insecurity and private misery. And here is suggested, or directly expressed, one of the practicable measures as well for its future prevention as its immediate remedy. Let the principle be adopted of long confinement in these institutions, and let it be faithfully carried through, and the necessity will be superseded of a large part of our annual provisions for alms. We have yet no model workhouse in our Commonwealth; no one which admits of the classification which should be made in such an establishment; no one which, in its construction, is favorable to moral influences; no one suited as it should be for the most profitable employ-

ment of its inmates. Measures, however, are in train for obtaining plans of workhouses which will comprehend all these objects. After all that can be done, these institutions cannot perhaps be made to support themselves. But if they shall greatly lessen the number and improve the condition of the poor, as well as diminish the expenditures which may be required for the support of their inmates, will not society be compensated for the cost of them?

The *third* class I have named consists of *the virtuous poor, who, by reason of disease, or permanent debility, or old age, are to be permanently supported.* For these, if too numerous to be supported by private charity, the most comfortable and humane, as well as the least expensive, provision is a well-ordered *almshouse*. By an almshouse I here mean all which the term imports. It should be literally a *house of charity*, to which, however, none but the fair claimants of alms as a charity should be sent. I would admit to it none who have been brought to poverty by their own profligacy, intemperance, or recklessness of any kind. A distinction should be made—it is demanded by the virtuous poor, and should be demanded by the sympathies of society with them—between themselves and those whose poverty is immediately ascribable to the grossest sins. I would, however, make an almshouse, as far as it may be, a house of employment, for I would give to this class of the poor all possible facilities for self-support. Employment will even add much to the happiness of its inmates. But it should not be forgotten that they have a right to support from alms when they have been brought to poverty by causes beyond their control. I have been in some almshouses in our country towns, in

which the inmates were even generally of the class of which I am now speaking, and more comfortable establishments are hardly to be desired for them. Nor is the fact, of which abundant evidence is furnished by the report of the commissioners, unworthy of notice, that where almshouses have been established upon farms for the employment of the poor, the expense of towns for them has been lessened one-half or two-thirds, even where there was so small an ability to labor in their inmates that it would have seemed a circumstance to be cast out of the account in looking to the probable results of these institutions as an experiment.

The *fourth* class — that is, the class of those who are *temporarily and occasionally poor, who are doing what they can for self-support, but who need, and especially in the winter and during a time of sickness, occasional and temporary aid* — I would leave for the exercises of *private charity*. There are some, also, of the immediately preceding class whose characters and conditions will call forth that sympathy and interest which will secure for them an adequate, an entirely comfortable, support in the homes which private charity will provide for them. So great, indeed, is the proportion of the idle, intemperate, and reckless dependents upon alms, that, if efficient measures should be taken for the care of these, I know not the claim of charity which our community would not most promptly and willingly answer. Many, at least, are our towns in which there would not then be left a greater number requiring “charitable alms” than would be required to keep our sympathies with the poor in a happy and healthful exercise.

I have made a class also of the *orphan, the deserted, the neglected and otherwise morally exposed children*

of the poor. These, in large towns, form even a very large class of the fairest claimants of public sympathy and charity. Nothing can be more injudicious than it is to send children of this class to establishments in which they are brought into a close connection with adults who have been brought to poverty by gross vices. Many of these children are innocent, and in our disposal of them should be recognized as innocent. Many of them, however, require a very efficient moral discipline, which is hardly to be looked for but in an institution expressly established for their object. Such an institution is our house of reformation; such an institution will be our farm school. A due regard to the condition and claims of this class of children would be one of the most effectual of all means of preventing both poverty and crime.

I will only add, that I look for no great general good in any of the departments of society except from moral causes; and I look for the operation of moral causes only to an enlightened and a free public sentiment. Much may be done for the poor by a ministry which shall be exclusively devoted to their improvement and happiness. But this ministry will not be effectual to the good which might be accomplished by it till it shall have the full aid and support of public sentiment. In proportion as the classes of society shall be aroused to a distinct perception and a just estimate of moral interests, as incomparably the greatest of all interests, the means will be multiplied, in all classes, of the amelioration of human suffering, and of the greatest advancement of human happiness. It is not surprising that so many of the causes of pauperism and of crime and wretchedness have continued, and still

continue to act almost unchecked, when it is considered how very little thought is given to these causes; how entirely attention, in most men, is absorbed by personal and selfish interests; how vague, even in many who would rise above these interests, is the sentiment of their relation either to God or to their fellow-beings, and, consequently, how feeble is the sentiment that the life-spring of the purest happiness in every individual soul is that spirit of sympathy and fraternity which finds its own best good in the communication of good and happiness to them. I should even welcome any embarrassments, any immediate pressure, even of suffering, which would call forth a prevailing Christian sentiment in man towards his fellow-men; a deep conviction and feeling of the truth that the proper object of the highest concern of every individual is his own moral good and that of his fellow-beings. By nothing short of this, I repeat, are the objects of Christianity in our world attainable, as far as their attainment is connected with human agency. I should rejoice, therefore, in the repeal of all legal enactments for the support of the poor, if from no other cause, for the very reason that it would do something, and would probably do much, to bring the question before the public at once as an individual and a general concern, What is duty, and what is interest, in respect to the several classes of the poor? The sooner this question is so to be met, the better it will be both for society and for the poor. Both duty and interest have, I think, been alike mistaken upon this great question; and the opposition and conflicts which have been supposed to exist between these principles were but the oppositions and conflicts of interests directly opposed to Christian duty.

Let Christian precepts be made our rule, and Christian purposes our end, and there will be no clashing between them. Then will the rich be honored by the poor, and, in turn, they will "*honor the poor.*" "This sentiment of respect" — I quote the words of one whom it is my happiness to call my friend — "is essential to an improving connection between the more and less prospered conditions of society. This alone makes beneficence truly Godlike. Without it, alms-giving degrades the receiver. We must learn how slight and shadowy are the distinctions between us and the poor, and that the last in outward distinctions may be the first in the best attributes of humanity. A fraternal union, founded on this deep conviction, and intended to lift up the exposed and tempted poor, is to do infinitely more for that suffering class than all our artificial associations; and, till Christianity shall have breathed into us this spirit of respect for our nature, wherever it is found, we shall do them little good. I conceive that in the present low state of Christian virtue we little apprehend the power which might be exerted over the fallen and destitute by a benevolence which should truly, thoroughly recognize in them the image of God. Perhaps none of us have yet heard or can comprehend the tone of voice in which a man thoroughly impressed with this sentiment would speak to a fellow-creature. It is a language hardly known on earth; and no eloquence, I believe, has achieved such wonders as it is destined to accomplish."

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH.

[The following Biographical Sketch of Dr. TUCKERMAN is taken from an article upon his life and character by Rev. E. S. GANNETT, in the "Monthly Miscellany of Religion and Letters," July, 1840.]

JOSEPH TUCKERMAN was born in Boston, Jan. 18, 1778. Of the early instructions of his mother, a truly pious woman, he always spoke with peculiar gratitude. His youth was passed in preparation for college partly at Phillips Academy in Andover, and partly in the family of Rev. Mr. Thacher of Dedham. In 1794 he entered Harvard College, where he was graduated in 1798 as one of the class to which Judge Story and Rev. Dr. Channing also belonged. His preparatory studies for the ministry were pursued under the direction of Rev. Mr. Thacher of Dedham. Soon after he began to preach he received an invitation to become the successor of Rev. Dr. Payson at Chelsea, where he was ordained Nov. 4, 1801. In June, 1803, he was married to a daughter of the late Samuel Parkman, Esq., of this city, who died in the summer of 1807. In November, 1808, he was again married to Miss Sarah Cary of Chelsea, who after thirty-one years of the most happy connection was taken to a higher life, leaving a remembrance

dear to a large circle of friends. In 1816 Mr. Tuckerman visited England, in the hope of deriving benefit to his health, but was absent only a short time : after his return he suffered much from dyspepsia, and never recovered the full tone of his health. He continued in the active discharge of the duties of his ministry till the spring of 1826, when he felt the necessity of relinquishing in some measure the labors of the pulpit, and his mind, which had become much interested in the condition of the neglected poor of our cities, sought an opportunity of conducting a ministry peculiarly suited to their wants. On the 4th of November, 1826, just twenty-five years from the day of his ordination, he preached his farewell sermon at Chelsea, and immediately commenced his service in Boston, to which place he soon removed with his family. He was at first assisted in this work by a private association of gentlemen, who had for some time held stated meetings for their own religious improvement and for conference upon the means of benevolent action ; but he was very soon appointed a minister at large in this city by the Executive Committee of the American Unitarian Association, who became responsible for the small salary which he received, and which for several years was raised by the contributions of ladies in our different congregations. In 1828 the Friend Street Chapel was erected for his use as a place of worship for those he had brought to a sense of the value of religious instructions, but who were unable to pay for the

privileges of the sanctuary. His untiring zeal in this ministry, the success of his labors among the poor, and the extent of his influence over the rich, evinced peculiarly in the confidence which they reposed in him as the almoner of their charities, were subjects of too familiar remark to need any illustration. The ardor with which he prosecuted his labors was too much for his bodily strength, and in 1833 he again visited Europe in company with his friend Mr. Phillips, and passed a year abroad, principally in England, where he formed many valuable friendships, and was instrumental in awakening much interest in his favorite subject, — the moral elevation of the neglected and vicious poor. On his return he found the ministry at large placed on a more stable foundation than he had left it, the Benevolent Fraternity of Churches having been organized with a special view to its support. A more commodious chapel was erected, and younger laborers were associated with him. His own ability to render active service was, however, irretrievably impaired. The winter of 1836–37 he was obliged to spend in the milder climate of St. Croix, from which he returned, as it was thought, much benefited. But the vital force was too nearly exhausted. Repeatedly prostrated by disease, he rose only to show the steadfastness of those principles and purposes which filled his soul, and sunk again, as if to prove the constancy of the faith which seemed to gain new power from suffering and bereavement. From a severe illness in

the autumn of 1839 he so far revived that after much hesitation a voyage to Cuba was recommended as the only means of prolonging his life. He sailed for Havana, and soon sought the interior of the island ; but a short trial proved the hopelessness of the attempt to recruit an exhausted frame, and he returned with the daughter who was his devoted companion to Havana, where, after some days of extreme debility, attended with great suffering, he died, April 20, 1840, in his sixty-third year.

Dr. Tuckerman received the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity from Harvard University in 1826. It was a tribute to his ministerial fidelity. His published writings are few, excepting those which arose from his connection with the ministry at large. One of the last services he rendered to this institution was the preparation of a volume, which we fear has not obtained a wide circulation, upon "The Principles and Results of the Ministry at Large."

Dr. Tuckerman's remains were brought to this country, and the funeral service was attended in King's Chapel, where he had been accustomed to worship during the last years of his life, in the afternoon of May 26. They were afterwards deposited at Mount Auburn.

COMPULSORY EDUCATION.

[The earnestness with which Dr. Tuckerman presents the necessity of compulsory education cannot escape the reader's attention. The changes in our social order in forty years since have not changed the necessity for the utmost care in this direction. The Editors of this volume believe that they increase its value by adding to Dr. Tuckerman's views the Report which follows of the New York City Council of Political Reform upon Compulsory Education. It discusses this question in the lights of the present time, and presents details which fully illustrate it.]

REPORT.

IN a democratic republic like ours, where all political power resides in and springs from the people; where, to use the language of Abraham Lincoln, "*the government is of the people, for the people, and by the people*," no subject can be presented to the citizens for their consideration more important than the education of the youth.

UNIVERSAL EDUCATION ESSENTIAL TO FREE GOVERNMENT.

Intelligence in the rulers is essential to good government; with us the rulers are the voters, hence the

necessity of fitting them by education to rule. With intelligent voters, our form of government is the best yet devised; but with ignorant voters, it is one of the worst. An intelligent people seek freedom, and an ignorant one despotism, just as naturally and certainly as the needle points to the magnetic pole.

The founders of our free institutions two hundred and fifty years ago saw this, and scarcely had they completed the log cabins for their families when they began the log school-house for the school and school-master.

The school-house has spread, developed, and improved from Maine to California equally with the dwelling-house. It is the nursery of American citizens.

THREE CARDINAL PRINCIPLES OF AMERICAN LIBERTY.

These three cardinal principles our forefathers never lost sight of; viz., a free State, a free School, and a free Church. Self-preservation imposes upon our government the duty of educating the people sufficiently to qualify them to exercise intelligently the right of suffrage. Conscious of this, every free State established a system of free schools.

So great and beneficent has been their influence upon the people, that the material prosperity, intellectual and moral development, respect for law and obedience to it, in each State, may be relatively measured and calculated by the condition of the free public schools.

WHAT THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT IS DOING FOR EDUCATION.

The national government has already set aside for educational purposes one hundred and forty millions

(2)

(140,000,000) of acres of public land; and the question of devoting to education the whole proceeds of the public lands still undisposed of is discussed. In the last Congress, the Committee on Education and Labor in the House of Representatives reported favorably a bill for this purpose, and after a careful debate and consideration it passed that body and was sent to the Senate. It has established a bureau of education as a permanent part of the government, with a commissioner of education at its head. His annual report is one of the most interesting, instructive, valuable, and important documents that issues from the government press. *Every legislator and every school officer* in the United States should *study its contents and heed its facts.*

MAGNITUDE OF THE SCHOOL INTEREST.

(1.) — *In the Nation.*

We have in the United States over fourteen and a half millions (14,500,000) of children of the school age; we expend annually for schools over ninety-five millions of dollars (\$95,000,000), which is equal to one-third of one per cent of the value of the property, real and personal, of the whole country, as returned by the last census; and we employ two hundred and twenty-one thousand (221,000) teachers. This is our standing army, and those are our raw recruits. Their arms are the pen and the slate-pencil; their munitions of war the text-books; their forts and arsenals the school-houses; and the enemy they are enlisted to conquer, ignorance and bigotry. Through the munificence of the government, the finest building that springs up in every village in our new States and Territories is the public school-

house. Like the light of heaven and the water of the earth, it is open and free alike to rich and poor.

(2.) — *In the State of New York.*

In the State of New York we have one million and a half (1,500,000) school children, twenty-eight thousand (28,000) school-teachers, twelve thousand (12,000) school-houses, and one million (1,000,000) volumes of books in the school-district libraries. The school property of the State is worth twenty-four millions of dollars (\$24,000,000), and we are expending two million dollars (\$2,000,000) a year to add to it and improve it. The law in the State of New York requires us to raise annually one and one-quarter of a mill tax upon each dollar of valuation of taxable property, for the support of the free schools. This amounts to two and a half millions of dollars. But so fully is the value of the schools appreciated, that the people voluntarily tax themselves annually four times this amount, making the whole sum spent upon schools in this State ten millions of dollars (\$10,000,000) a year.

This is called the "Empire State." So long as we continue this liberal policy of education for the whole people it will remain such.

The canal interest, the railroad interest, the manufacturing interest, important as they are to material progress, are yet small compared with the education of our million and a half of youth.

(3.) — *In the City of New York.*

The city of New York had last year over two hundred and thirty thousand (230,000) pupils in its schools. It employed three thousand (3,000) teachers and school

officers, and expended upon public education three millions three hundred thousand dollars (\$3,300,000). The citizen, however humble, has only to send his child to the public school, and government furnishes him, there free of cost, an educational palace, warmed and lighted, the best text-books and apparatus, and the most skilful teachers.

Stewart and Astor, with their hundred millions of property and no children in the public schools, like true-hearted American citizens, gladly pay the school taxes that educate the sons and daughters of thousands of poor laborers who have no property to be taxed. Aided by the free school, the greatest wealth and the highest honors and offices in this broad land are within the reach of the sons of the humblest workman.

THE PROPERTY SHOULD EDUCATE THE CHILDREN.

The American doctrine is, that "*the property of the State shall educate the children of the State.*" This benefits equally the rich and the poor. It decreases crime, reduces taxes, improves labor, increases the value of property, and elevates the whole community. One of the first and decisive questions asked in seeking a permanent location for one's family is, What are the means provided for education? A village, town, or State, with good free schools, is the resort of families; without them it is the home of criminals.

In this city it costs more to support police and police courts to restrain and punish a few thousand criminals, nearly all of whom became such from want of education, than to educate our 230,000 children.

CRIME THE CONSEQUENCE OF IGNORANCE.

In France, from 1867 to 1869, one-half the inhabi-

tants could neither read nor write; and this one-half furnished ninety-five per cent of the persons arrested for crime, and eighty-seven per cent of those convicted. In other words, an ignorant person, on the average, committed seven times the number of crimes that one not ignorant did.

In the six New England States of our own country only seven per cent of the inhabitants, above the age of ten years, can neither read nor write, yet eighty per cent of the crime in those States is committed by this small minority; in other words, a person there without education commits fifty-three times as many crimes as one with education.

In New York and Pennsylvania, an ignorant person commits on the average seven times the number of crimes that one who can read and write commits, and in the whole United States the illiterate person commits ten times the number of crimes that the educated one does.

The above facts are derived from official statistics.

THE SCHOOL THE PREVENTIVE OF CRIME.

We may have supposed that it is the churches rather than the schools that prevent people from becoming criminals, but the facts indicated by statistics collected by government show the contrary.

The kingdom of Bavaria examined this question in 1870. In Upper Bavaria there were 15 churches and $5\frac{1}{2}$ school-houses to each one thousand buildings, and 667 crimes to each one hundred thousand inhabitants. In Upper Franconia the ratio was 5 churches, 7 school-houses, and 444 crimes. In Lower Bavaria the ratio was 10 churches and $4\frac{1}{2}$ school-houses and 870 crimes.

In the Palatinate the ratio was 4 churches, 11 school-houses and only 425 crimes, or less than one-half. In the Lower Palatinate the ratio was 11 churches, 6 school-houses, and 690 crimes, while in Lower Franconia the ratio was 5 churches, 10 school-houses, and only 384 crimes.

Tabulated for clearness of comparison, it is as follows :

	Per 1,000 Buildings.		Per 100,000 Souls.
	Churches.	School Houses.	Crimes.
Upper Bavaria	15	5½	667
Upper Franconia	5	7	444
Lower Bavaria	10	4½	870
The Palatinate	4	11	425
Lower Palatinate	11	6	690
Lower Franconia	5	10	384

In short, it seems that crime decreases almost in the same ratio that schools increase, while more or less churches seem in Bavaria to produce very little effect upon it.

Those unerring guides of the statesman — statistics — demonstrate that the most economical, effective, and powerful preventive of crime is the free common school. Universal education tends to universal morality.

THE SCHOOL THE PREVENTIVE OF PAUPERISM.

An examination of the statistics of England, Scotland, Ireland, and of the different countries of Europe, indicate that, other things being equal, pauperism is in the inverse ratio of the education of the mass of the

people; that is, as education increases, pauperism decreases, and as education decreases, pauperism increases. The same rule holds good in our country.

Taking the three States of Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Illinois, for illustration, we find that of the illiterate persons *one in ten is a pauper*; while of the rest of the population only *one in three hundred* is a pauper. In other words, a given number of persons suffered to grow up in ignorance furnish on the average *thirty times as many paupers* as the same persons would if required to get such an education as our free public schools afford. Add to this, that they furnish also *ten times the number of criminals*, and the right as well as the duty of government, as the protector of society, to enforce general education is clear, for it is the plain obligation of government to protect society against pauperism and crime.

EDUCATION, THEN, SHOULD BE COMPULSORY.

Government should prevent both crime and pauperism by extirpating the cause of each; to wit, ignorance. An educated citizen is of more value to himself, to society, and to the country, than an ignorant one.

An examination covering prominent points or centres of labor in twenty States, made three years ago, developed the fact, that even such education as our free common schools afford adds on the average fifty per cent to the producing capacity of the citizen; while a higher training increases it two or three hundred per cent.

He can do more and better work, from the street scavenger up to the most skilled mechanic, with the same expenditure of time and force, from the mere fact of possessing knowledge.

A well-educated commonwealth, however narrow its borders or poor its soil, soon becomes rich and powerful; while an ignorant one, even under the happiest circumstances of land and sky, falls a prey to anarchy, poverty, and despotism.

Government is making ample provision for the secular education of all. Has it not a right, then, *to require all to be educated*, either in the public schools at public expense or in private schools at private expense? We think it has, and that secular education sufficient for the common affairs of every-day life, and to enable the citizen to vote with intelligence, should be compulsory.

Prussia and many other German States have tried it for years with the happiest results. It is her vigorous system of compulsory education that in sixty years has raised her from a bankrupt and conquered petty kingdom to the ruling empire of Europe, and made her the seat and home of intelligence, industry, and wealth. Boston has had such a law for twenty years, and in the last ten they have reduced truancy from school sixty per cent. New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Michigan have now adopted it. England has given her school boards power to adopt it, and in London they have. The effect is to increase the attendance at school, and decrease the number of juvenile delinquents. The time has arrived to try the experiment in the cities of our State at least, if not in the whole State. This will cause every child to enjoy the benefits of the public school or of some private school.

Wherever compulsory attendance has been tried long enough to determine its effect, the result has been so satisfactory that it has become a fixed and settled policy. Prussia, Saxony, and democratic Switzerland

testify to its excellence. It is in harmony with the true spirit of a democratic republic to *require* every citizen to qualify himself for the right of suffrage and for earning an independent living.

The taxpayers who furnish the money to educate *all* the people have a right to *require that all shall be educated*, in order that crime and pauperism, and the public burdens caused by the same, may be reduced to a minimum, and the ballot wielded only by intelligent voters.

The ballot in the hands of a corrupt and ignorant populace is the torch of the political incendiary; but with an intelligent people is the bulwark of liberty.

“An ounce of preventive is worth a pound of cure.” It costs far less to *prevent* crime, pauperism, and civil commotions, by educating the whole people, than it does to *punish* criminals, *support* paupers, and *maintain* armies to repress an ignorant and vicious population.

The average daily attendance in this State upon the public schools during the school year is only about one-third of the whole school population; and upon all schools, public and private, it is only about one-half.

The class most in need of school training seldom attend school at all; to wit, those whose parents, through ignorance, poverty, avarice, or crime, give them little or no home education. This class can be reached only by the aid of a compulsory and searching statute. Every other remedy has been tried without curing the disease.

By a judicious law, firmly but kindly enforced, compelling attendance during school hours upon some school, either public or private, the streets of our large cities could be cleared of the thousands of youthful

vagrants, from whose ranks now our army of criminals is almost entirely recruited. Such a law in a single generation would work a moral and intellectual reformation and regeneration of our criminal and pauper classes, and save millions of money in the departments of police, charities, and corrections, and largely increase the wealth, influence, and producing power of the State.

The wisdom of developing and perfecting our free schools is admitted by the great majority of the community. A small minority oppose them on the ground that their religion is not specially and authoritatively taught therein.

OUR GOVERNMENT CANNOT AND SHOULD NOT TEACH
RELIGION.

Our government cannot give religious education, because, while protecting each citizen in the undisturbed enjoyment of his own religion, as a sacred matter between him and his Maker, and thus tolerating all religions, it has none of its own, and cannot favor any sect or domination or class.

The whole letter and spirit of the constitution of the United States, as well as of the several States, prohibits the establishment, either directly or indirectly, of a State religion; or the showing any favor or giving any protection, privileges, or financial support to one religious sect more than to another. *Protection to all equally, but support to none, is on this point the organic law of America.*

If the churches would not interfere with the government's secular education, but would devote the whole of their strength to giving, in their own places and manner, religious education, they and the government,

though working in different spheres and in different buildings, would act in entire harmony, and would in the end produce the best possible general result. By simply protecting religion, but not teaching it, government is, as matter of fact, giving the utmost genuine vitality and strength to the religious element.

BUT ONE SECT OPPOSED TO FREE SCHOOLS.

This American doctrine of free non-sectarian schools is substantially accepted and adopted by all religious sects save one. That one, however, is large, enthusiastic, well drilled, and ably and powerfully led; and though its members are chiefly of foreign birth, yet, having become citizens, they are entitled to the same voice and rights and privileges as natives are in this matter. The leader of this sect, though a foreign ruler, has ordered the destruction of our free non-sectarian system of popular education, and the substitution of his own system of church or parochial schools, that is, schools whose text-books and teachers are selected, appointed, and controlled by the church, though the State may be permitted to pay all the bills. In the city of New York, through State and municipal legislation, the following amounts of money were obtained in the last five years from the public treasury for sectarian institutions, such as churches, church schools, and church charities, viz.:—

1869	\$767,815	of which this one sect received	\$651,191
1870	861,326	” ” ”	711,436
1871	634,088	” ” ”	552,718
1872	419,849	” ” ”	252,110
1873	824,284	” ” ”	306,193
<hr/>			
Total 5 years	\$3,007,362	” ” ”	\$2,473,648

If this is a better system than ours, we should adopt it, for we want the best; but if it is a worse, we should reject it.

THE PAROCHIAL SYSTEM PRODUCES MORE ILLITERATES,
PAUPERS, AND CRIMINALS THAN OURS.

It has been tried for centuries, and in some countries, as Italy and Spain, under the most favorable auspices, for there this sect has had despotic power, both civil and religious, and so could carry its system out to its highest perfection.

What, then, are its fruits? — we may say, its necessary and inevitable fruits? By its fruits it should be judged. They are as follows: —

(1.) A highly educated few; but among the masses general ignorance instead of general enlightenment.

(2.) A low grade of morality.

(3.) A large pauper and criminal class.

(4.) A tendency to despotism and to official selfishness and corruption.

(5.) A lack of national progress and development.

These statements are made, first, from a personal knowledge of the facts gained by investigation in those countries, — having visited them before they rejected that system, for the purpose of studying this very question; and secondly, they are made from a careful analysis of official statistics.

• The fruits of the two systems also exist side by side in our own country.

There are with us five and a half millions of foreign-born inhabitants, the greater portion of whom came from countries — as Ireland and England, for example —

that have had the parochial or church system of schools; hence they may justly be taken *intellectually* and *morally* as the fair average product of that method of education.

Of these, the *illiterates* above the age of ten are fourteen per cent (.14) of the whole number; the *paupers* are four and one-tenth per cent (.041); and the *criminals* one and six-tenths per cent (.016).

While, on the other hand, in the twenty-one of our States, having the American system of non-sectarian free public schools, there is a native population of twenty millions. This native population has been educated in this system of schools, and in like manner may be justly taken, *intellectually* and *morally*, as the fair average product of this method of education.

Of these, the *illiterates* above the age of ten are only three and one-half per cent (.035) of the whole number; the *paupers* only one and seven-tenths per cent (.017); and the *criminals* only three-fourths of one per cent (.0075).

In other words, from every ten thousand (10,000) inhabitants the parochial or church system of education turns out fourteen hundred (1400) illiterates, four hundred and ten (410) paupers, and one hundred and sixty (160) criminals; while the non-sectarian free public school system turns out only three hundred and fifty (350) illiterates, one hundred and seventy (170) paupers, and seventy-five (75) criminals. Or if we take Massachusetts by itself, which has the type or model of our free public school system, with its 1,104,032 native inhabitants, the number is still less; viz., seventy-one (71) illiterates, forty-nine (49) paupers, and eleven (11) criminals.

	Illiterates.	Paupers.	Criminals.	Inhabitants.
Parochial school system	1,400	410	160	to the 10,000
Public school system in				
21 States	350	170	75	„ 10,000
Public school system in				
Massachusetts	71	49	11	„ 10,000

That is, we are asked by these friends who have come here and joined us, and whose zeal and energy, if rightly directed, will be of great service both to themselves and the country, to abolish our own well-tried system of education and adopt the one to which they, in their former homes, became accustomed, though that one, on the average, produces *four* times as many illiterates, *two and a half* times as many paupers, and more than *twice* as many criminals as ours. Or if we take Massachusetts as a fair sample of our system, we are asked to adopt one that will give society *twenty* times as many illiterates, *eight* times as many paupers, and *fourteen* times as many criminals.

We cannot do this, and when they come to understand thoroughly the facts they will not wish us to do it; for the welfare of their children is just as dear to them as that of ours is to us, and they, equally with us, desire to diminish ignorance, pauperism, and crime, and to make the country of their adoption and the home of their descendants intelligent, prosperous, powerful, and happy.

The whole future of our country, and the very existence of our free government, is wrapped up in the common school. Promote and develop that, and every department of industry and intelligence will flourish like a tree well watered and nourished at its roots. Destroy the common school, and ignorance, poverty, despotism, and bigotry will soon pervade the whole land.

Generalizations drawn like the above from the official statistics of twenty-five millions of people are unerring guides. They settle the question as to the comparative excellence of the two systems of education. They are intellectual, industrial, and moral beacons, that direct with certainty and safety the statesman and the philanthropist. *They point out unmistakably to the legislator the duty of enacting a law requiring attendance upon schools, during the school age and the school terms, of all the children in the State, unless legally and for good and sufficient reasons temporarily excused.*

The preservation of free government requires this. Protection of society against pauperism and crime demand it. The material development of our country calls for it. The success and happiness in life of the children of the poor, the ignorant, and the vicious, can be secured only by such a statute.

Your committee recommend the passage of the following resolution:—

Resolved, That the legislature should enact a law authorizing and empowering the school boards in each city, town, and incorporated village to require the attendance at some school, public or private, during the school terms and the school hours of each day, of all children between the ages of eight and fifteen years, unless for good and sufficient reason temporarily excused.

NEW YORK, Dec. 30, 1873.

DEXTER A. HAWKINS,

*Chairman of Committee on Education of the New York City
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BY LUCY LARCOM.

A well-written history of an excellent and gifted woman, like the "Life and Letters of Madame Swetchine," by Count de Falloux, will naturally meet with a welcome among people of the truest culture. Madame Swetchine was not a woman who courted publicity; but the thread of her life was so interwoven with the political and religious movements of her time, it was impossible for her to escape notice. And it brightens that dark period of strife between France and Russia, with which the present century opened, to follow the life-track of this Russian lady, who seemed to have been equally at home in both countries.

She was intimately acquainted with the noblest men and women of that remarkable period, and there is not one of them upon whom her friendship does not cast a beautiful glow.

She was one of those rare beings who seem to have been created to draw out what is best in others, by the power of sympathy and self-forgetfulness. She was a woman of uncommon intellect, and of wide reading; and every thing she read was brought to the standard of a judgment remarkably clear and penetrative: indeed, her conversion to the Roman Catholic faith seems to have been mostly a matter of the head, — a choice between the Greek and the Roman ecclesiasticalisms. Long before her decision was made, her life shows her to have been a humble and earnest Christian; and, as such, as one whose sympathies took wing higher and wider than the opinions in which she had caged herself, her history has a rare value.

One wonders at the amount of good accomplished by her, always a weak invalid. In order to understand how she lived, and what she did, the book must be read through; but some extracts might give a hint of it: —

"She rarely gave what is called advice, — an absolute solution of a given problem: her humility made her shrink from direct responsibilities. She did not lecture you. She did not set herself up as a model or guide. She did not say 'Walk thus;' but sweetly, 'Let us walk together;' and so, without making the slightest pretensions, she often guided those she seemed to follow. Young and old acknowledged her sway. She never evoked a sentiment of rivalry, because no one ever detected in her a temptation to win admiration at the expense of others, or to eclipse any person whatever. Her disinterestedness won pardon for her superiority.

"Sick and erring hearts came and revealed themselves to Madame Swetchine in all sincerity; and she shed upon them, sweetly and gradually, light and truth and life.

"In her turn she drew from this intimate intercourse, added to her own exquisite penetration, a knowledge of the human heart which amounted almost to divination. She knew the science of the soul as physicians know that of the body.

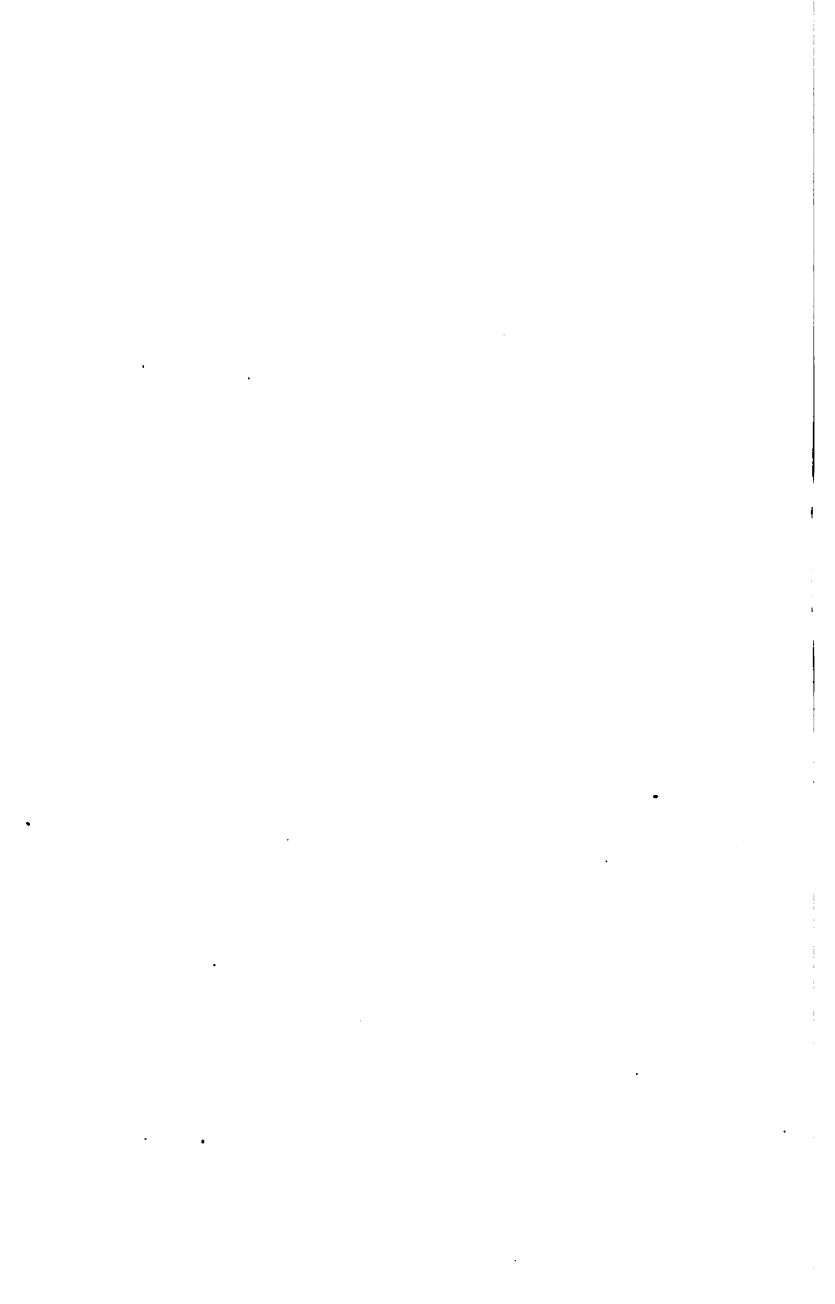
"Her charity was not a careless and mechanical practice. She consecrated to it all her strength and all her skill. Almsgiving was not, with her, the mere fulfilment of a duty. She liked to give pleasure besides doing good, and her heart always added something to what her hand gave."

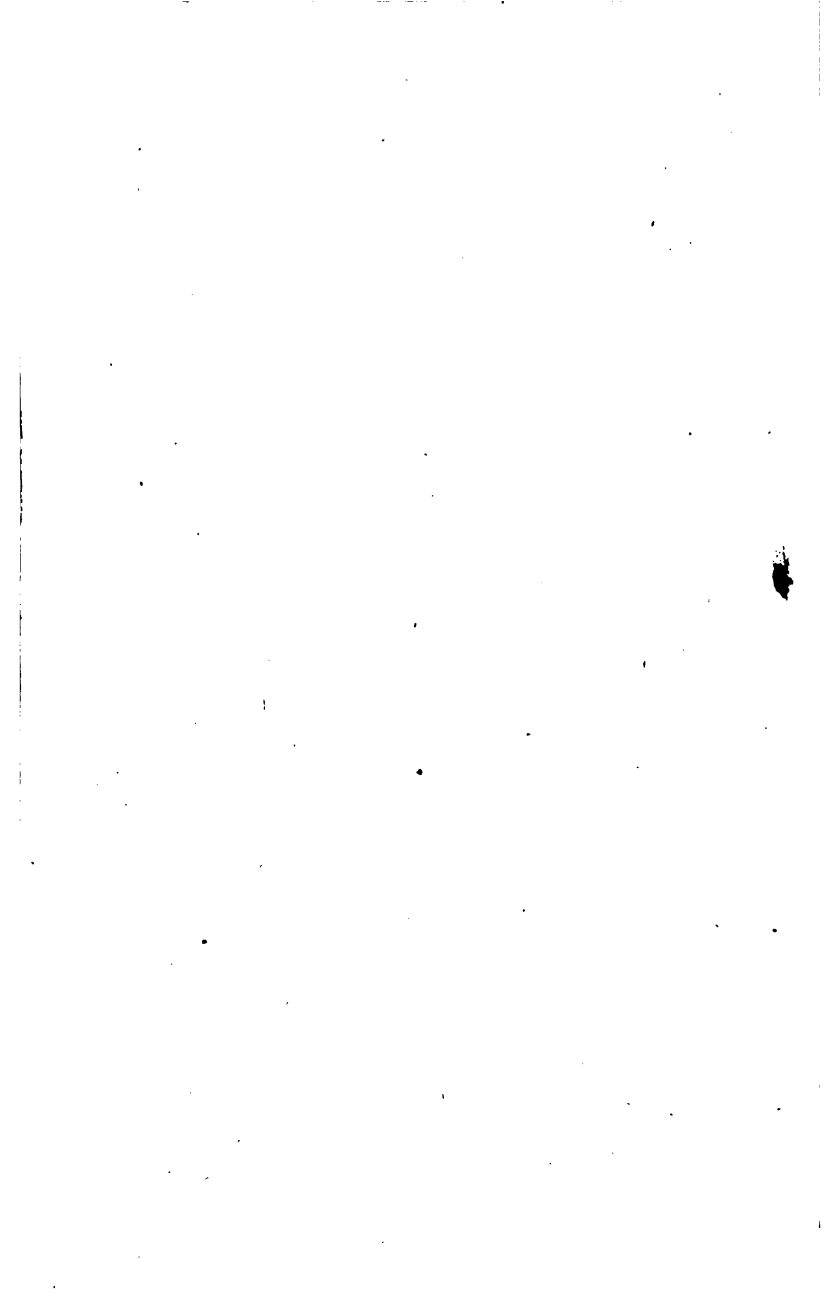
Madame Swetchine lived a little beyond the boundaries of threescore and ten. It is only ten years since she died. Heaven does not ask to what communion she belonged, neither will posterity. The memory of her saintliness is a possession to the church universal, in the present and in the future. Such a record as hers is an inspiration to all who read; such an example, the most imperative "Go thou and do likewise."

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